

# HISTORY OF ROME,

FROM THE

## EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH OF DOMITIAN.

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PREFACE.

My principal object in writing this little history has been to place within the reach of general readers, especially young persons, the principal discoveries of modern times, as well as the facts derived from the ancient authorities. These views and theories have by this time had the opportunity of being well weighed and carefully examined, and consequently the notions of scholars in these days, respecting the early Roman history, are clearer and more certain than they ever were before. The knowledge, however, to which I allude, has to be sought for over a wide surface, and it is often stated in language somewhat difficult and obscure. To bring together this information within a small compass, and to express it in language as simple as the subject admits, has been a task of some difficulty: the reader must judge how far I have succeeded in accomplishing it.

I have not thought it expedient to make references, in a work of this popular kind, to the authorities from which my statements are derived, because the sources are so well known to scholars, that to do so would have been unnecessary, whilst general readers would not have the inclination, and young persons the knowledge or ability, to verify them. I have, however, throughout, not only availed myself of the laborious investiga-

tions of modern scholars and historians, especially the greatest of them all, Niebuhr, but have in all cases consulted the works of the Roman historians themselves. Those who are acquainted with their writings will recognize in many parts of the narrative almost a translation, or at least a paraphrase of the Latin originals.

From what has been stated respecting the contents of this little work, it will be seen that I do not lay claim to much originality. In some cases I have ventured to give my own views and reflections, and have not hesitated to state plainly and frankly my opinions respecting the political tendency of events, and the characters of those who were a curse or a blessing to their country and their times. These observations, however, are necessarily very brief, and in all cases I have honestly stated facts, as recorded by the most trustworthy authorities.

R. W. B.

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF ITALY—ITS GEOLOGY—THE CAMPAGNA DI ROMA—ITS BOUNDARIES—DESCRIPTION—COMPARED WITH PARTS OF ENGLAND—THE HIGHLANDS OF LATIUM—ANCIENT AND MODERN CONDITION OF THE CAMPAGNA—SITUATION OF ROME.

FROM the spurs of the Alps, which form a barrier against the winds of the cold North, there stretches in a south-easterly direction the vast peninsula of Italy; its extreme length is more than seven hundred miles, its breadth, as compared with this, is inconsiderable, never exceeding one hundred and fifty miles. Its boundaries on one side are the Alps, on the other two the Hadriatic and Mediterranean seas. It lies between  $37^{\circ} 55'$ , and  $46^{\circ} 30'$  N. lat., and between  $7^{\circ}$  and  $18^{\circ} 30'$  E. long.

The mountain range of the Apennines, upheaving its undulating summits of mountain limestone, with here and there a bare rock appearing, divides the peninsula into two portions. The slopes of this chain are rich in mineral wealth, and down its wooded steps and between the secondary ridges which branch from it, mountain streams and rivers flow, watering the valleys and plains. Some of these, swelled by tributaries, become navigable, and are the sources of commercial wealth as well as of natural fertility.

The geological character of the country on the eastern side of the Apennines, resembles that of the other shore of the Hadriatic; it is of secondary and tertiary formation; it consists partly of the extensive and exceedingly fertile plains of Lombardy, watered by many rivers, especially by the Po and its tributaries,

and partly of mountainous regions interspersed amongst rich plains and romantic valleys.

The western side is of equal, and, in some parts, Campania for instance, of superior fertility; and though the limestone formation shows itself in the marble quarries of Carrara and Siena, in the isolated hills of Cività Vecchia and Soracte, and the mountain range which runs through the Campagna, the dwelling of the ancient Volsci, it consists principally of tufa, lava, peperino, and other rocks of volcanic formation; and some of its lakes, like that of Alba and Nerni, are evidently craters of extinct volcanoes. With these volcanic productions are mingled other newer strata of fresh-water formation, of which the most important is *travertin*, originally *Tiburinum*, so called because it abounds at Tivoli, the ancient *Tibur*. Of this are built many of the finest structures of ancient and modern Rome; and it forms a considerable part of the Aventine.

This fertile country, adorned with all that contributes to the beauty of natural scenery, forest and river, mountain, valley, and plain, lies stretched beneath a sky proverbial for its colour and transparency, and enjoys a temperate climate, variable indeed, but for the most part healthy.

But the more immediate home of that great people whose history is about to be related, is the low country of Latium, which corresponds with the low lands of the modern Campagna di Roma. This was the field on which its first battles were fought; the scene of its ancient traditions. In later times, Latium was co-extensive with the whole of the modern Campagna, including both its highland and lowland districts. This tract of country, which contains more than two thousand square miles, stretches along the sea, from the Tiber to Terracina, the ancient Anxur. It is bounded on the north by the Anio (Teverone), on the north-east by the lowest ridge of the Apennines, beyond which the highest summits of the

range are visible, covered more than half the year with snow.

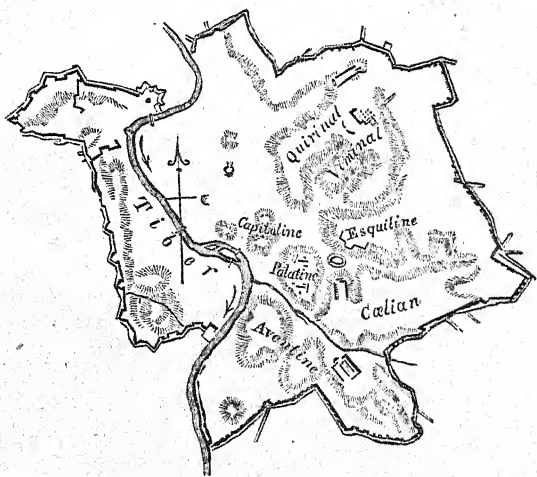
The lowland district somewhat resembles the Downs in the West of England: its surface is undulating and clothed with refreshing verdure in the winter and the spring: but when the scorching heats of summer beat down upon its treeless expanse, the grass withers and the whole becomes a bare, burnt, and dusty desert. Its slopes are frequently broken by steep escarpments, or "edges," such as are often met with in England, commanding extensive views, and intersected either by ancient river beds and water-courses, or by shallow streams shut in between rocky banks, and flowing at the bottom of tangled glens. These precipices formed naturally fortified positions for the numerous little towns of the Latins. From this undulating plain rise the highlands of the Campagna, ranges of hills which, viewed from Rome, appear like vast islands in the midst of a grassy sea. On the east are the hills of Alba, on the highest summit of which formerly stood the temple of the Latin tutelary Deity (Jupiter Latiaris), the god of the united worship of all of that name. Lower down were the classic shades of Tusculum, between which and Rome stood many a villa of the wealthiest and noblest in Rome.

Somewhat more to the north may be seen the elevated table-land of Algidus, from which the Æqui poured down to lay waste the plains below. A little farther to the south the eye rests upon the rugged summits of the Volscian mountains.

The Campagna is now desolate and uninhabited: it is tilled and reaped by husbandmen, who visit it at the proper seasons and retire again when their rural labours are concluded to the salubrious highlands from this unhealthy district, and some, fever-stricken, to fill the hospitals in Rome. In ancient times, as the climate was colder and less parched, it was probably much more healthy, and being dotted over with

numerous small cities, and those near Rome not more than four miles from each other, it doubtless possessed an abundant resident population spread over the lands which they themselves cultivated.

Rome itself is situated at the farthest extremity of Latium, close upon the banks of the Tiber, seventeen miles from the sea; its port was Ostia, which, even as early as the times of Strabo, had become choked with sand, and is now two miles from the sea. The modern port of Rome is Civit  Vecchia. Its territory is divided from Etruria by the river, and from the country of the Sabines by the tributary stream of the Anio. Its original position was the Palatine Hill; and as its dimensions increased it gradually spread over the Caelian and the Esquiline. The *original* Seven Hills on which Rome was built, were included in these three only. Afterwards, the Aventine, occu-



THE SEVEN HILLS.

pied by the conquered Latins, and a Sabine city lying on the Capitoline, Quirinal, and Viminal, were consi-

dered part of Rome. But it retained its title of *Septimontium*, or the City of the Seven Hills.

The view from the city, looking towards the Tiber, is bounded by the line of the Janicular and Vatican hills.

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## CHAPTER II.

ANCIENT LEGENDARY HISTORY OF ROME—FLIGHT OF ÆNEAS FROM TROY—PREDICTION OF AN ORACLE—LATINUS—EVANDER—HERCULES AND CACUS—WAR WITH LATINUS AND TURNUS—ÆNEAS SUCCEEDS TO THE THRONE OF LATIUM—HIS DEATH AND DEIFICATION—ALBA LONGA BUILT—ROMULUS AND REMUS—FOUNDATION OF ROME—DEATH OF REMUS—ASYLUM OPENED—RAPE OF SABINES—TARPEIA—UNION OF THE SABINES AND ROMANS—ROMULUS TAKEN UP INTO HEAVEN—NUMA POMPILIUS—HIS POLICY—TULLUS HOSTILIUS—HORATHI AND CURIATHI—TREACHERY OF METTIUS FUFETIUS—ANCUS MARTIUS—TARQUINUS PRISCUS—HIS PUBLIC WORKS, ETC.—INFANCY OF SERVIUS TULLIUS—MURDER OF TARQUIN—POLICY OF SERVIUS—CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM—HIS MURDER—TARQUIN THE PROUD—THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS—THE DELPHIAN ORACLE CONSULTED—STRATAGEM OF BRUTUS—LUCRETIA—EXPULSION OF THE TARQUINS.

THE following is the Greek legend which the national pride and family vanity of the Romans led them to adopt as the history of their origin. Immediately after the fall of Troy, or, as some say, to escape the capture of the city, Æneas, celebrated by the poets as a model of filial piety, fled by night, with his father Anchises, his wife Creusa, his infant son Iulus, and his household gods; and having lost his wife by the way, sailed for the Western world, the Hesperia of the poets. Exiles by the will of fate, after many dangers and adventures by sea and land, the Trojans at last landed safely on the Latin or Lavinian shores.

An oracle had foretold that they should not find a settlement until hunger had compelled them to eat their tables, and that a quadruped should be their guide to the spot where they were to dwell. At the conclusion of the first meal of which they partook on landing, they began to eat the square cakes which they had used as plates or trenchers. Upon this,



Iulus exclaimed, that they were eating their tables. The fulfilment of the oracle was recognized, and they proceeded to offer a sacrifice of gratitude. A white sow, great with young, which was the victim, escaped, and ran until she came to an elevated spot, about three miles from the shore, where she lay down and farrowed thirty young ones. Here then, in obedience to the second prediction, the exiles built their city; and the doubts of Æneas, as to whether the site was sufficiently favourable, were removed by a voice which was heard to say, that in as many years as the sow had young ones, his descendants should remove to a more favoured spot.

The king of this land was named Latinus. He was the third in descent from Evander, who had migrated from Arcadia, in the Peloponnese (the Morea), and is said to have been the civilizer of the original inhabitants of Italy.

Tradition informs us that in the reign of this Evander, the country was infested by a gigantic robber, named Cacus. Hercules, who is said to have come to Latium with the oxen of Geryon, weary with his long journey, lay down to sleep on the banks of the Tiber. Whilst he slept, Cacus stole the most beautiful oxen in the herd, and, lest their footsteps should betray him, dragged them by the tails to his cave. Hercules awoke at early dawn and missed the animals, but, perplexed by the direction of the footsteps, prepared for departure. On a sudden, the lowing of one of his herd was answered from the cave. This led to a discovery, and when Cacus resisted, Hercules killed him with his club. On being brought to Evander, he declared who he was. Evander then welcomed him as a hero or demi-god, and caused an altar to be erected in his honour.

This was the only foreign rite adopted by Romulus. "So early," says Livy, "was he a favourer of immortality, gained as the reward of virtue, to which his own fates were leading him."

Latinus welcomed the strangers and assigned to



them seven hundred jugera of land, seven to each, for they were a hundred in number.\* But in a short time the ungrateful colonists made incursions into their neighbours' fields. Hence a war arose, and Latinus called in the aid of his ally, Turnus, king of the Rutuli. Small as was the number of the Trojans, they conquered the allied kings. Latinus fell in battle, and Æneas married his daughter, Lavinia, and succeeded to the vacant throne. The city was called Lavinium, and the Latins and Trojans formed one people, under one common name. Turnus, however, would not submit, but sought the alliance of Mezentius, king of the neighbouring Etruscans. In a second battle Æneas fell, but as Iulus affirmed that he was taken up into heaven, the Latins worshipped him under the title of Jupiter Indiges. At length Iulus slew Mezentius, in single combat, and thus the war was brought to an end. The thirty years were now completed, and Iulus removed his people to Mount Alba, and along its ridge he built a city, which he named Alba Longa or the Long White City.

For centuries the descendants of Æneas reigned at Alba Longa. Numitor and Amulius were the sons of the twelfth in direct descent from him, and, on their father's death, Amulius usurped the throne, which, of right, belonged to his elder brother, Numitor. In order to put an end to all future claims, he murdered Numitor's only son, and made his daughter Silvia a vestal virgin. But the god Mars met her in his sacred grove, and she bare him twin sons. These Amulius ordered to be cast into the Tiber. The river happened to have overflowed its banks, and the wooden cradle in which the children had been exposed drifted into the shallows and rested under a wild fig-tree, at the foot of the Palatine Hill. There they were discovered by a wolf, which suckled the

\* The Roman jugerum, the etymology of which is di-agerum, equalled two squares of one hundred and twenty feet each; each square was termed an *actus*.

children; and when they grew older a woodpecker fed them.

One day, Faustulus, a royal herdsman, watched the fourfooted nurse, and finding the children, took them home to his wife, who brought them up with her own children, and named them Romulus and Remus. The young men were, like their foster-father, herds-men, and quarrels frequently arose between them and the herdsmen of Numitor. In one of these Remus was seized and carried before Numitor. The story of his infancy was told, and on Romulus coming to rescue his brother, Numitor recognized and owned them as his grandchildren. They then overthrew the usurper Amulius, and restored Numitor to the throne of Alba. The young men, however, determined to found a new city, and chose as the site the scene of their early years.\* They agreed that augury should decide which of them should give his name to the new-built city. Romulus accordingly took his seat on the Palatine Hill, and Remus on the Aventine, in order to observe the heavens. They watched all night, and in the morning six vultures were descried by Remus, on his right hand. Scarcely was this told to Romulus, when he in his turn saw twelve. On account of the number of the birds the augurs decided in his favour, and Romulus commenced working at the walls of his city, on the Palatine. Remus, angry at his defeat, leaped in scorn over his brother's lines.

Provoked at this insult, either Celer the captain of the equites, or horsemen, who was superintending the work, or, as some say, Romulus himself, struck him a blow, and killed him on the spot, saying, "Thus shall he die who dares to leap across my walls."

Although remorse could not restore his brother to life, Romulus endeavoured to quiet his conscience, by instituting a festival in his honour, which was ever after celebrated under the name of the Remuria or Lemuria.

\* B.C. 753, A.U.C. I.

## ROMULUS.

Although the city was built, there were not enough people to fill it. Romulus, therefore, opened an asylum, to which all fugitives, slaves, and criminals might fly. But though he thus increased the number of his citizens, the neighbours, as might be expected, would not intermarry with such a set of vagabonds. He therefore proclaimed a festival, with various games and sports. The neighbours flocked to Rome to witness the sight, and, on a signal being given, the Romans rushed upon them, and carried off their unmarried daughters.

The principal sufferers were the Sabines and the Latin towns of Cænina, Antemnæ, and Crustumerium. To avenge this insult, the Latins declared war; but they were conquered, and Romulus slew the king of Cænina, Acron, and offered his spoils to Jupiter Feretrius. The spoils taken from a king were called *spolia opima*, and were only taken on this and two other occasions, during the whole existence of the Romans as a nation.

The Sabines, then under the command of their king, Titus Tatius, marched against Rome. Round their necks and arms they wore collars and armlets of gold. Now the capitol or citadel of Rome was under the command of Tarpeius; and his daughter, Tarpeia, tempted by the collars and armlets of the Sabines, offered to betray the capitol, on condition of receiving what the Sabine soldiers wore upon their arms. The Sabines took her at her word; and, when they had rushed in, heaped their shields upon the traitress, and crushed her to death. Between the capitol and the city was a marshy valley: and here the Sabines and Romans met in battle. The fight was for a long time doubtful, and at last the Romans began to give way. Romulus, therefore, vowed a temple to Jupiter



COIN OF TARPEIA.

Stator (the flight-stayer), and his soldiers rallied. The battle was renewed, when, lo ! from the gates of Rome the Sabine women rushed in between the hostile armies, and besought their fathers and their brothers to be friends with their husbands. Peace was concluded ; the two nations became one people, though each was governed by its own king. The Sabines, or Quirites, as they were now called, occupied the capitol which they had taken, and the Quirinal hill ; the Roman city, as before, was on the Palatine. The valley between was the place of consultation for the two sovereigns, and was hence called the Comitium, that is, the place of coming together.

A few years passed away in harmony, and Tatius was killed by the Laurentines, and then Romulus reigned alone.

The infant colony was exposed to predatory inroads from the neighbouring nations, especially the peoples of Fidenæ and of Veii : but their warlike monarch was victorious over all his foes, and thus gained an accession of territory. Thirty-seven years he reigned, when, one 5th of August, he had assembled the people on the plain of Mars. On a sudden, a storm and thick darkness arose ; and when the storm was over, and the darkness had dispersed, he was gone. Mars, his father, had taken him up in a chariot to heaven. That night he appeared to Proculus Julius, and bade him tell his mourning people, that, if they would cultivate the art of war, Rome should be the capital of the world, and that no human power should be able to resist their arms. Thus, he spake, and ascended into heaven.

At the death of Romulus, there was an interregnum for one year, during which the two hundred senators, whom Romulus had appointed as his council or parliament, ruled in turn, ten holding office at one time for five days. But at last, at the urgent wish of the people, they consented to choose a successor.

## NUMA POMPILIUS.

The Romans and Sabines were each anxious that the new king should be of their nation ; so they agreed that he should be chosen by the Romans from among the Sabines. Their choice fell upon Numa Pompilius, the son-in-law of Titus Tatius, a learned, wise, and religious man.\* He was said to have been a pupil of the Greek philosopher Pythagoras.

As Romulus had made his people great by the arts of war, so Numa Pompilius endeavoured to civilize them by those of peace. His first care was devoted to the establishment of religion, and he professed to be directed in the appointment of the ordinances of religion by the nymph Egeria. With her he said that he had nightly meetings, beside a sacred fountain. He divided the public lands among the people, and consecrated each man's landmark to the god Terminus. He built a temple to Fides, the goddess of truth, in order to remind the Romans of this holy duty, for attention to which they were ever so justly famed ; and another to Janus, situated between the Roman and Sabine towns, which was always to be open during war, for mutual counsel and assistance, and closed during peace. Whilst the division of the lands induced the rural population to cultivate in peace their little farms, he encouraged trade by forming the citizens into nine corporations, like our guilds or companies. He corrected the errors in the calendar, made the year and month agree with the periodical times of the sun and moon, and added the months of January and February at the commencement of the year, which before this consisted of ten months only.

His reign, as might be expected from his character, passed in peace and tranquillity. He lived to the good old age of eighty, and died after having reigned thirty-nine years.

\* B.C. 715, A.U.C. 39.

He was buried across the Tiber, in a tomb which he had himself chosen without the city, in obedience to his own law, by which he had wisely forbidden the interment of the dead within the walls,—a law which the Romans always religiously observed.

#### TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

Again there was a short interregnum, and this time a Roman was chosen king.\* Tullus Hostilius resembled Romulus in his character, and his warlike spirit was soon called into action. The Romans and Albans had each plundered the other, and at the same time sent to demand satisfaction. The Romans managed to be first refused, and therefore declared war. Clulius, the Alban king, marched his army within five miles of Rome, and there died. To supply his place, Mettius Fuffetius was chosen dictator.

Before the armies engaged, Mettius proposed that the issue should be decided by a select number of combatants on each side. Now there happened to be in both armies three brothers, all born at one birth, the Horatii in the Roman army, the Curiatii in the Alban. They met, and fought until all the Curiatii were wounded, and two of the Horatii slain. The survivor pretended flight; the Curiatii pursued; and when, by this means, he had separated them, he suddenly turned, and slew them in succession, and thus remained master of the field.

The Romans returned in triumph, Horatius at their head, bearing the spoils of the three Curiatii. At the city gate his sister met him, and when she saw the armour of the Curiatii, to one of whom she was betrothed, she wept. Her brother, angry at such a welcome, stabbed her with his sword, exclaiming, "Thus perish every Roman woman who shall bewail the death of an enemy!"

The decemvirs sentenced him to be scourged, and

\* B.C. 675, A.U.C. 79.

hung as a murderer, but he appealed to the people; and they, in consideration of the victory he had won, remitted the sentence, on condition of his passing under the yoke, by way of atonement and expiation.

The Albans felt sore under the loss of their independence, and excited the neighbouring towns to revolt from Rome. The people of Fidenæ, assisted by those of Veii, did so, and the allied forces of Rome and Alba marched to quell the revolt. The treacherous Mettius withdrew his troops to the hills, intending to wait and see which would prove victorious. Victory at length declared for the Romans, and Mettius marched down to offer his congratulations. Tullus pretended not to see his treachery, and assembled the Albans on the morning after the victory, at a sacrifice of thanksgiving. They came unarmed, and the Romans surrounded them. Mettius was condemned to be torn asunder by two chariots. Alba was razed to the ground, and its inhabitants transferred to Rome, where they occupied the Coelian Hill. The houses of the nobility were admitted to the same rank and privileges with those of the Romans.

Tullus next gained a decisive victory over the Sabines; but whilst engaged in these brilliant exploits, he had forgotten his religious duties. Awful prodigies proclaimed the anger of the gods; a plague attacked his people, and Tullus, in remorse and alarm, sought by the means recommended by Numa a favourable sign from heaven. His repentance was all in vain,—the lightning fell, and destroyed him and his family.

He reigned thirty-two years.

#### ANCUS MARCIUS.

His successor, Ancus Marcius,\* was the grandson of Numa, and in religious matters followed his grandfather's example. He was engaged in a successful war with the Latins, whom he brought in

\* B.C. 643, A.U.C. 111.



great numbers to Rome, and gave them the Aventine for a habitation. He built the now desolate port of Rome, Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, and a wooden bridge (*pons sublicius*) to join the Janiculum with the city. He built, also, a prison on the side of the Capitoline hill, which is the oldest remaining monument of ancient Rome. He reigned twenty-four years.

#### TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

The reign of the next king connects the history of Rome, not only with that of Etruria, but with that of the more distant country of Greece. Demaratus was a member of an aristocratic family at Corinth, and was exiled in consequence of the success of the democratic party under Cypselus. He consequently migrated to Tarquinii, where, as a merchant, he amassed a large fortune. He had two sons, Lucumo and Aruns, of whom the former survived him. He married a noble Etruscan lady, who ambitiously persuaded her husband to seek at Rome those honours, from which, as a stranger, he was excluded at Tarquinii. As they approached Rome in their chariot, an eagle took off Lucumo's cap, and soared into the air; and, after wheeling round his head, replaced it. Tanaquil, who was skilled in the Etruscan art of augury, declared that it foretold his future greatness. On their arrival, their wealth and talents gained them a welcome, and Lucumo was admitted to the rank of citizenship, and assumed the name of Lucius Tarquinius, from the city whence he had come. He soon became a favourite at the court of Ancus, who, dying, left him guardian to his two sons. The people disregarded their hereditary claim, and unanimously elected the stranger as their king.\*

In wars with the Latins and Sabines, and, according to some authorities, with the Æqui and Etruscans, he was as successful as Romulus and Tullus had been,

\* B.C. 619, A.U.C. 135.



and there is no doubt that he left the Roman territories far more extensive than he received them. With respect to his internal policy, he devoted his energies to the improvement of the city; he defended it from its enemies by a stone wall; he provided for its commerce by a forum; for the splendour of its religious worship, by a vast temple or Pantheon on the Capitoline; for its public relaxation, by the Circus Maximus, which was large enough to contain one hundred and fifty thousand persons; and, lastly, for its health, by vast sewers, of which the largest, the Cloaca Maxima, is to be seen at the present day.

The following anecdote represents him as attacking, but overcome by, the common superstitions of the times. He wished to institute three new centuries of knights, which were to bear his own name. The augur, Attus Navius, forbade it; the king then asked him whether what he was then meditating upon could be accomplished. The augur, after consulting the auguries, replied that it could. "It was, then," said Tarquin, "that thou shouldst cut this whetstone with a razor." The augur immediately divided the stone. The king, struck with the miracle, gave up his plan, and only doubled the number of knights in each of the three centuries already existing, distinguishing the new knights from the old, by the titles of first and second. He also added one hundred to the two hundred original senators; these were called the senators of the lesser houses, whereas the former were styled those of the greater houses. Thenceforward, he never acted without the sanction of the augurs.

In the palace of Tarquin there was brought up a young child, named Servius Tullius, the son of a female captive taken in the Latin wars; his father was said to be the God of Fire. One day, as the infant slept, a lambent flame was seen to play around his head. Tanaquil interpreted the prodigy as a sign of future distinction, and he was immediately adopted by Tarquin, who gave him his daughter in marriage.

The sons of Ancus, although they had patiently submitted to the usurpation of Tarquin were alarmed at the prospect of Servius succeeding to their father's throne: they therefore hired two herdsmen to go before the king, on pretence of having a dispute, and whilst he was engaged in listening to their tale, to assassinate him. They accomplished their design, and succeeded in effecting their escape. Tanaquil concealed his death for a time, and gave out that until his recovery he had appointed Servius regent. When he had gained sufficient influence, the king's death was made known, and Servius retained undisturbed possession of the sovereignty. The sons of Ancus then fled for safety to Suessa Pometia. In order to strengthen himself on his throne, Servius married the two sons of Tarquin, Lucius and Aruns, to his two daughters.

#### SERVIUS TULLIUS.

The object of Servius' policy was to admit the plebeians to some share of that political power which had been hitherto exclusively enjoyed by the patricians. With that view he introduced two measures—one of these was the division of all the plebeians into four city and thirty-six country tribes, according to the local position of the property which he had previously allotted to them out of the conquered lands. When the votes of these tribes were taken, the plebeians alone voted.

His second measure was to make another political division of the whole people, patricians and plebeians alike, according to their property, and in proportion to this to distribute political power and the public duties and burthens.

In order to remedy the fluctuating nature of wealth, he appointed that a census or valuation of property should be taken every fifth year. This period was termed a lustrum. The nature of these political changes shall be more accurately described hereafter.

He was successful in a war with the Etruscans, and added the Quirinal and Viminal hills to the city, which, together with the Esquiline, he enclosed within the line of the fortifications. He united the Romans, Latins, and Sabines, by one common religious bond, building with that view a temple of Diana on the Aventine, where they might all worship together. Thus Servius reigned forty-four years prosperously and usefully, and at length fell by the rebellion of his own children. His son, Aruns, was mild and gentle, whilst Lucius was merciless and proud. The dispositions of their wives were the exact reverse of those of their husbands. Lucius, therefore, murdered his wife, the elder Tullia, and the younger Tullia murdered her husband, and then a marriage took place between the wicked pair.

The patricians were hostile to Servius because he espoused the cause of the oppressed plebeians, and they therefore willingly conspired against him with Lucius and Tullia. Lucius, attended by a company of armed followers, took possession of the royal throne, which stood before the door of the senate-house; and when Servius, being informed of the rebellion, hastened to rebuke him, he hurled the aged monarch down the steps and proclaimed himself king.

Servius Tullius attempted to reach his palace on the Esquiline, but, as he went, some assassins sent by Tarquin fell upon him and murdered him. Meanwhile the unnatural daughter was hastening in her chariot to salute her husband as king. As she returned she came to the place where her father's bleeding corpse lay. The driver stopped horror-struck, but she bade him drive on, and her chariot-wheels were drenched with her father's blood.

It is said that this patriotic king had intended to resign his crown, and give the Romans a constitution similar to that which was established after the downfall of the regal power.

## TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

Tarquin, surnamed the Proud, kept by tyranny the power which he had gained by rebellion. The privileges conferred by Servius on the plebeians were revoked, and the patricians, who were not of his own party, were also victims of his oppressive cruelty. Many senators were exiled or put to death, and their places never filled up, his intention being by this means gradually to destroy this order altogether.

Tarquin, though bloodthirsty and tyrannical, was politic and brave; and by his success in war, and by giving his daughter in marriage to Octavius Mamilius, the leading man in Tusculum, he gained such influence over the Latins, and some other neighbouring towns, that they formed a federal union, and placed him at their head.

The Volscian town of Suessa Pometia, to which the sons of Aruns had fled, was the first attacked by the arms of the federal states, and it fell. Gabii, which had refused to join the league, resisted for a long time, and was at last taken by treachery. Sextus, the eldest son of Tarquin, fled to Gabii, pretending that he was treated cruelly by his father. The inhabitants believed him, and received him kindly. He persuaded them to make war against the Romans, and was himself intrusted with the command of their troops. At last he thought that he had enough influence to deliver Gabii into his father's hands, and he therefore sent to Tarquin to ask what to do. Tarquin was too cautious to trust the messenger with a reply; but being in his garden he simply struck off with his stick the heads of the tallest poppies. Sextus understood his father's meaning, and proceeded to banish and put to death the leading citizens, and thus having got rid of the best men he delivered Gabii into his father's power.

Tarquin now determined to build a temple to Jupiter, which Tarquinius Priscus had vowed. In

digging the foundations there was found a bleeding human head (in Latin *caput*). It was given out by the augurs that it was the head of one Tulus, and that it prefigured that Rome should be the capital of the world. In consequence of this prodigy the Capitoline hill, which up to this period had been called the Saturnian, received the name which it afterwards bore. There was also another augury of Rome's future greatness. When the gods, whose shrines already occupied the site, were consulted as to whether they would remove, all consented except Youth (*Juventas*) and *Terminus*. This circumstance was said to prefigure that Rome should enjoy perpetually the vigour of youth, and that its boundaries never should be removed.

One day a strange woman offered the king nine rolls or books at a certain price. They professed to contain the predictions of a celebrated prophetess who went by the name of the Sibyl. The king refused. The woman then departed, burnt three, and came back, offering the remaining six at the same price. Still she met with a refusal. She then burnt three more, and persisted in the same demand. The king, struck by the singularity of the circumstance, consulted the augurs, who recommended him to accede to the woman's terms. The books were bought, and the woman was seen no more. The records thus purchased were stored up in a vault under the Capitol.

Some time after this, a snake crawled out from the altar, and having extinguished the fire, seized the entrails which lay upon it. The king, alarmed, despatched his sons Titus and Aruns to Delphi to consult the oracle Apollo. With them he sent L. Junius, their cousin, who, by counterfeiting folly, had escaped when Tarquin murdered his father and elder brother on account of their wealth, and was hence nicknamed Brutus, or "The Fool."

The young Tarquins carried rich presents to the Pythian priestess; Brutus only a stick of cornel-wood,

but, as emblematic of his hidden talents, he had hollowed and filled it with a rod of gold. This offering procured him a favourable reception, and when his cousins asked the oracle which should reign at Rome, it was answered, "He who first kisses his mother." They agreed to keep this response secret from their younger brother Sextus, and to draw lots themselves. But Brutus pretended to stumble and kissed the earth, the mother of all living.

When they returned, Tarquin's forces were blockading Ardea. One day during the siege, the young princes and their cousin Collatinus were disputing about the virtue of their wives. In order to decide the question, they took horse and rode to Rome, and thence to Collatia, to see how their wives were employed. They found Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, spinning with her maidens; whilst they surprised the rest of the ladies in the midst of feasting and revelry. Thus the point was decided, and the young men rode back to the camp.

The beauty and innocence of Lucretia inflamed the guilty passions of Sextus. Some days after he rode to Collatia, where he was received hospitably by Lucretia. At midnight he entered her chamber, and threatened that, unless she yielded, he would slay her, and place the body of a slave by her side, and say to her husband that he had taken her in adultery. Fear of disgrace prevailed, and the ravisher fled back to Ardea.

The wretched Lucretia sent for her father and husband, who came with Publius Valerius and L. Junius Brutus. She told them of the outrage which Sextus had committed, and exclaiming that although she acquitted herself of guilt, she would not release herself from punishment, she plunged a poniard in her breast, and expired.

Brutus drew the weapon from the wound, and holding it up, still reeking with her blood, he and all the rest swore to execute vengeance on the Tarquins.



Brutus was at this time Tribune of the Celeres, and in virtue of his office called an assembly of the people, who deposed Tarquin and banished him and his family.\* Tarquin with his sons went into exile to Cære, after having reigned twenty-five years.

The Romans in their centuries elected Brutus and Collatinus as joint consuls; or, as they were called for more than sixty years, prætors. The hatred, however, of the royal race was so bitter, that Collatinus was compelled soon to resign his office and retire to Lavinium. L. P. Valerius was chosen in his room.

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### CHAPTER III.

ORIGIN OF EARLY ROMAN HISTORY—THE PELASGI—ANCIENT INHABITANTS OF ITALY—REASON OF THE CONNECTION OF ROME WITH TROY—HISTORY OF ALBA—ACCOUNT OF THE FOUNDATION OF ROME—THE SABINE AND ETRUSCAN ELEMENT—THE THREE TRIBES—THEIR SUBDIVISIONS—RELATION OF PATRON AND CLIENT—ORIGIN OF THE PLEBEIANS—THEIR RELATIVE POSITION—POWER OF THE KING—RELIGION OF THE ROMANS—LATER INTRODUCTION OF GREEK MYTHOLOGY—CONSTITUTION OF SERVIUS TULLIUS DESCRIBED—LOCAL TRIBES—CENSUS—ARMS OF EACH CLASS—VALUE OF THE ROMAN AS.

SUCH is the early history of Rome as handed down to us by tradition. The following were the only sources from which it could have been derived. Firstly, the records and annals of the priests, which perished in the flames when Rome was burnt by the Gauls, and were replaced by such vague traditions and forgeries as national or family vanity were likely to supply. "Thus," says Livy, "historical records have been corrupted by funeral eulogies and the forged titles inscribed on statues, whilst each family, with unscrupulous falsehood, took to itself the credit of honour which they had not gained, and of exploits which they had not performed." Secondly, the poetical lays or legends, which in the form of odes and epic poems were recited on occasions of festivity, or sung at funerals in praise of the dead, and sometimes inscribed on tombs in memory of them. It

\* A.U.C. 245, B.C. 509.

is, therefore, plainly impossible to say how much of such history is true or false, historical or poetical. All that can be done is to state what is known for certain, and what modern research has shown to be most probable.

A large tract of Europe, as well as that part of Asia in which the city of Troy was situated, was inhabited by a race called the Pelasgi. Whence they came originally, it is difficult to determine; the probability is, that they came from Assyria, that some migrated to Egypt, where we find traces of them under the name of Hyksos; that others settled in Palestine, where they bore the name of Philistines, and gave their name of Palestine to that part of Syria; and that others penetrated to the north of India. Travelling westward from these distant settlements, they spread over great part of the world, and brought civilization in their train. Herodotus informs us that their gods had no names, pointing thus to a worship purer than idolatry: and the remains that they have left, show that they inhabited cities fortified with great architectural skill, the walls being built of stones selected, and exactly fitted together without cement.

There were numerous tribes of this vast race, distinguished by different names. One of them was called the Siculi, which appellation, owing to different modes of pronunciation, was corrupted into Vituli and Itali, and from these, the country which they had overspread was named Italy. They inhabited the whole of the south-west coast of Italy, including that portion which was afterwards called Latium. By the Greeks they were known by the name of Tyrrheni. They were a peaceful people, engaged in the occupations of rural life.

But there were in Italy, dwelling farther north, more warlike Pelasgian tribes. These were severally, the Sabellians (afterwards the Sabines), Oscans, Cascans, Priscans, and Sacrani. These four last were often called, though incorrectly, the aborigines, or original natives of Italy, and inhabited at first the



north-east of the Peninsula. The Sabellians poured down their victorious armies on the Oscans, Cascans, Priscans, and Sacrani, and these, in turn, invaded the territories of the Siculi. The peaceful inhabitants of the lowlands of Latium partly submitted to, and were gradually amalgamated with the conquerors, whilst part went over into Sicily, and gave their name to that island.

The nation formed by the union of the Pelasgian Siculi with the conquering tribes, was called the Latini, and sometimes the Prisci Latini; the language of the conquerors was called Oscan; and the union of the Oscan and Siculian formed that language which is known by the name of the Latin.

The Siculian dialect was much purer Pelasgian than the Oscan, and resembled nearly the old dialects of the Greek, and, if we separate those words in the Latin language which are akin to the Greek, the remainder are those which are derived from the Oscan. As we might expect, we find that most of the words which express ideas connected with war are Oscan, whilst those which relate to the arts of peace and rural life, are of Pelasgian origin.

The legend of the descent of Romulus from Æneas, and of the connection subsisting between it and the house of Evander, is evidently derived from the fact, that Arcadia, the country of Evander, as well as that part of Asia in which Troy was situated, was inhabited by the Pelasgian race. It is probable that the true history of Alba is as follows.

The capital of the Sacrani was called Alba; a word etymologically connected with "Alp," and implying a mountain position. When they and the other Oscan tribes were driven out of their country, which was situated north of the Anio, by the Sabellians, they built a new Alba, on the mountain ridge which commanded the lowlands of Latium. Into some of the conquered towns colonists were drafted from the conquering people; others were reduced to entire subjection. The former would

be considered as part of the state, and would be related to it as the plebeians were to the patricians at Rome. The latter would be towns of the Prisci Latini, entirely dependent on, and governed by the Albans. There is a tradition, that the number of the Alban dependencies was thirty, whence it may be imagined, that the legend arose of the sow and her thirty young ones.

It is probable, therefore, that Latium was, in the earliest times to which historical tradition reaches, parcelled out into thirty states, each with its own capital, some entirely subject to Alba, others connected with it in a more liberal and equal relation, but all acknowledging its supremacy.

In this country, which extended from the Tiber to Anxur (Terracina), and which contained thirty flourishing populous communities, with their capitals and rural villages scattered over the plain, there was near the Tiber, on the hill, afterwards called the Palatine, a Latin town named Roma, because the Tiber was anciently called Rumon. Its territory, afterwards called the Ager Romanus, or "Roman Common Land," was bounded by the Tiber and the Anio, and was extensive only in the direction of the sea.

On a neighbouring eminence, separated from the Palatine by a narrow marshy valley, was a Sabine town, originally named Remuria, and afterwards Quirium, which caused the hill to be named the Quirinal. Its citadel was on a rock close by, which was therefore called the Capitoline. Whatever connection at first subsisted between Roma and Quirium, it is probable, that, for a time, the Sabine town did not allow the right of intermarriage. They were a conquering race, and therefore perhaps considered their Siculian neighbours as inferior to themselves. In process of time this right was conceded, an event represented in the legend by the carrying off the Sabine virgins; a union between the two towns took place, and the citizens of both formed one people, called *Populus Romanus et Quirites*, which afterwards became

shortened into *Populus Quiritium Romanorum*. Whilst the inhabitants of Roma formed a tribe called the *Rhamnenses*, those of Quirium were incorporated into one known as the *Titienses*, an appellation evidently connected with the traditional name of the first Sabine king *T. Tatius*.

We now see that the inhabitants of that city, which afterwards became the mistress of the civilized world, was composed of two elements, the Latin and the Sabine, or Sabellian. Subsequently an Etruscan element was joined with these.

At what period this event took place is uncertain, though we meet with traces of the Etruscans very early in the traditional history of Rome. The ceremonies by which Romulus is said to have inaugurated his new city are Etruscan. The calendar attributed to Numa is so likewise; the guilds into which he divided the tradesmen are traceable to an Etruscan custom. *Servius Tullius* is said to have been identical with an Etruscan named *Mastarna*, and the *as*, coined by him, bears a ship's prow, the Etruscan emblem of commerce.

This people is said to have arrived in Italy about B. C. 1200, and to have conquered Etruria, which then bore the name of Umbria. They were doubtless Pelasgians, and their ancient name is too closely connected with *Resen*, the ancient Assyrian city, to be the result of mere chance. Their laws and institutions are partly of Syrian, partly of Egyptian character, which is just what we should expect, knowing as we now do, the close and early connection between Assyria and Egypt: their alphabet was Assyrian, and their language a branch of the Phœnician. At the period when their connection commenced with the towns of Roma and Quirium, they had probably inhabited for centuries the country on the west of the Tiber. Their chieftains were called *Lucumones*, and hence the third element of the united people is said to have been called *Luceres*. Tradition informs

us that the number of the senate was at first two hundred, and that afterwards, when the Luceres were added to the tribes, another hundred was added to the senate, and that the original two hundred were entitled *Patres majorum gentium*, and the new hundred, *Patres minorum gentium*. This would seem to imply, that the Etruscan element was considered an inferior race, and did not at once receive equal political privileges.

The Roman people now consisted of three tribes, the *Rhamnenses*, *Titienses*, and *Luceres*. These tribes were each formed of ten subdivisions called *curiæ*, and each *curia* was made up of ten *gentes*. The *gentes* were possibly originally families, or at least clans, and had their own domestic sacred rites and ceremonies; but afterwards these sacrifices served to bind together in the same *gens* individuals who, though bearing the one common name, were not connected by the ties of blood. These divisions only belonged to the people, properly so called, *i. e.*, the body of the citizens possessing franchise. This body was designated, indifferently, as *Populus Romanus*, or *Patres*, or *Patricii*. Each of the aristocratic families which formed the "*populus*," had dependents attached to it; the strangers who settled in the neighbourhood, the principal part of whom were engaged in trade, would naturally put themselves under the protection of some member of the sovereign people; and the relation which thus subsisted between them, was that of patron and client. The clients not being enfranchised members of any *gens*, did not, of course, belong to the *populus*, and, therefore, they must be considered as forming part of the *plebs*; but, nevertheless, their interests were so bound up with the patricians, that doubtless in the struggles between the two orders, they sided with the patricians. The period at which the plebeians were first called into existence, was probably when the power of Rome so increased, that the supremacy of Alba could no longer be maintained. The subjugated Albans, and

such of the dependent Latins as migrated then to the suburbs of Rome, formed the nucleus of the plebeian order.

They thus became fellow-countrymen, but not fellow-citizens. They were free, they fought in the armies of the state, they became possessed of property, some even of wealth, but as they belonged to no tribe, they had no political power, no share in the common land of the state; and as they could not join without polluting them in the common sacrifices of any gens, they were not allowed to intermarry with the dominant people, who formed thus an hereditary aristocracy. The earliest settlement which was assigned to the plebeians was the Aventine. The power of the king appears to have been limited, and he was elected by the people (*populus*) in the assembly of the *curiæ*; and, while the throne was vacant, the supreme power was vested in the senate.

The religion of Rome in early times was, as their national origin would lead us to expect, derived from the Latins, Etruscans, and Sabines. Each gens, or house, had its private sacred rites, which were performed by the head of the family. The political head of each *curia* (*curio*) was likewise its priest. The king was the national chief priest, and we shall find, that, after the kingly power was overthrown, the principal magistrates and civil functionaries were invested with sacred rights and duties. In this they resembled the Greeks and other Pelasgian nations, between whom and the leading nations of Asia there was this striking difference, that there was amongst the former no priestly caste; the priestly power was united with that of the chief magistrate, and from him the priestly power emanated. In later times, the Greek mythology was grafted upon the Roman, and the worship of some Greek deities was adopted. Together with the poetry of Greece its mythology was gradually introduced, and the legends of its gods appropriated to the native gods of Rome.

The first attempt to admit the plebeians into political rights, was by raising some to the rank of patricians, and then out of the new patricians adding one hundred to the senate, and doubling the numbers in each of the centuries of the knights.

But the most important revolution was that which tradition assigns to the reign of S. Tullius. Hitherto political power had been confined to those who belonged to the dominant race by birth, or who had been admitted and incorporated into the houses. The plebs was now divided into tribes, according to the locality in which their property was situated; those who lived in the city into four: those in the country, or *Ager Romanus*, into twenty-six. We are informed that, in the subdivision of the city districts, the Capitoline and the Aventine were not included; if this was the case, it was, perhaps, for the following reason:—the Capitol was the property of the old patricians, and no plebeians had property in it; the Aventine was probably contained in one of the country tribes. By this means, the plebeians engaged in commerce, as well as those employed in agriculture, had power to hold meetings (*comitia tributa*) for the management of their affairs, but their decisions were, of course, only binding upon the plebs, and not on the *populus*.

A new constitution was also established, in which both the plebs and the *populus* were included, and political privileges and burdens distributed according to the standard of property. As the burdens imposed by the state were intended principally to defray the expenses of war, and each male person under the age of sixty was liable also to personal service, this classification was of a military nature. According to the account given by Livy, the whole people were divided into five classes, and these again were subdivided, according to their property, into one hundred and ninety-four centuries in all, as described in the following table:—



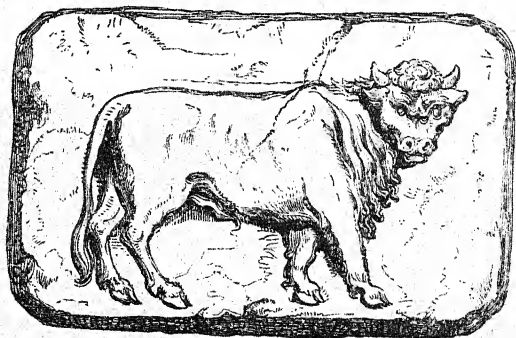
	Qualification.	Arms.	No. of Cents.
KNIGHTS.	. . . .	. . . . .	18.
Class I.	100,000 ases	{ Helmet, round shield, greaves, coat of mail, lance, sword . . . . }	Sen. 40. Jun. 40.
	Engineers	. . . . .	2.
„ II.	75,000 ases	{ Helmet, oblong shield, greaves, lance, sword . }	Sen. 10. Jun. 10.
„ III.	50,000 „	{ Helmet, oblong shield, lance, sword . . . . }	Sen. 10. Jun. 10.
„ IV.	25,000 „	Lance, javelin . . . . {	Sen. 10. Jun. 10.
„ V.	11,000 „	Slings and stones . . . }	Sen. 15. Jun. 15.
	Accensi, &c. Cornicines, Tubicines,	{ . . . . .	3.
	Capite censi	. . . . .	1.

The number of the equestrian centuries was increased to eighteen, by doubling the three original centuries, and adding twelve more formed out of the richest and most distinguished plebeians. The six patrician centuries of knights had the precedence of the others, and were called the six *suffragia*. To each knight were assigned ten thousand ases, to purchase a charger for himself, and a horse for a servant; and two thousand ases for forage. The latter sum was raised by taxing such widows and orphans as had property, and these were of course exempt from all military service.

In the fifth class were included all those whose property fell short of the sum required for enrolling them in the thirty centuries of seniors and juniors. Those whose property amounted to one thousand five hundred ases, were, from the nature of their service in the army, termed *accensi* (the reserve), and *velati* (the light skirmishers). Those whose property amounted to three hundred and seventy-five ases, were named *proletarii*, and were, until the year B.C. 290, exempt

from military service. Those whose property fell below this sum were merely numbered by the head (*capite censi*), and formed another century. The organization of the centuries was, as has been stated, a military one, and this gave an importance to the plebeian classes in the eyes of a warlike people; and, as a plebeian was as useful in war as a patrician, an admission into privileges proportioned to the military services rendered, was not likely to be opposed so strongly by the old prejudices of race and blood. Their place of meeting, or comitia, was the Campus Martius (Field of Mars), outside the city. Different arms were assigned to the different classes. The first class was arrayed in full armour; the second and third were not so fully armed; the fourth had nothing but spear and dart; the fifth only javelins and slings.

The Roman as, in the earliest periods, was a pound weight of brass, but was from time to time reduced in size as copper became scarcer. It is, of course, difficult to determine what was the value of the as, but as an ox was, in the early ages of the Republic, sold for one hundred ases, and might be considered now as worth ten pounds, we may reckon that the as would go as far as about two shillings would in the

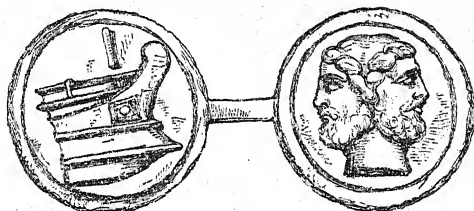


present day. For example—the possessor of one thousand ases was as rich then as the possessor of one



hundred pounds would be now. The earliest Roman money was in the shape of oblong ingots, of the weight of two, four, five, ten, and even one hundred ases. As this money was not coin, but reckoned by weight, it was called *æs grave*. Coins were afterwards struck in a circular form. The preceding, which is in the British Museum, is probably one of the earliest, and weighs nine and a half ounces.

The numeral, *one*, over the prow of the ship, is the distinguishing mark of the *as*; whereas the subdivisions were marked with small knobs, according to the number of ounces (*uncie*) which they represented.



The freedom which resulted from the institutions established by Servius Tullius, was succeeded by a tyranny oppressive at the time, and destructive to the welfare of the commons for many years afterwards. The masses of the population were employed, like slaves, on the public works; their property was confiscated; they were deprived of the position which the institutions of Servius had conferred upon them; and, even when the Tarquins were expelled, they were still at the mercy of the wealthy and tyrannical patricians.

## CHAPTER IV.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC—CONSULS OR PRÆTORS—PATRES CONSCRIPTI—PLOT IN FAVOUR OF THE TARQUINS—DEATH OF BRUTUS—PORSENA MARCHES TO ROME—HEROISM OF HORATIUS COCLES, MUCCIUS SÆVOLA, AND CLÆLIA—PEACE WITH PORSENA—DEATH OF VALERIUS POPLICOLA—BATTLE OF THE LAKE REGILLUS—T. LARTICUS, FIRST DICTATOR—ROMAN LAW OF DEBT—SECESSION OF THE PLEBEIANS TO MONS SACER—APPOINTMENT OF TRIBUNES.

THE kingly power being overthrown, and a republic established on its ruins, the constitution of Servius was partially restored. The consuls, or prætors, were elected annually, and, when their year of office was concluded, were responsible for their administration. They were not invested with the office of high-priest, as the kings had been, but their sacred functions were intrusted to a priest who bore the title of rex sacrificulus. They were preceded by the fasces, the ensigns of supreme power, as the kings had been, each alternately for a month, lest the people should imagine that they had now two kings instead of one.

Brutus's first act was to fill up the vacant places in the senate with members of the equestrian order. These new senators were styled patres conscripti. The Tarquins having fled for refuge to the Etruscans, ambassadors came from that people to demand the property of the royal family, and during their stay at Rome they formed a plot for the restoration of Tarquin. In this plot the sons of Brutus were implicated, and on its discovery by a slave, it became the duty of the unhappy father to pronounce, from the judgment-seat, sentence upon his own sons as traitors. Before his eyes they were scourged and beheaded, and in the fulfilment of the stern office of a patriot and a judge, he did not permit the feelings of a parent to interfere with his firm and resolute determination.

Upon this Tarquinius, supported by the Etruscan cities of Veii and Tarquinii, made war against the Romans. A battle was fought in which Brutus and Aruns met, in single combat, and both fell transfixed by each other's lance. The event of the battle was doubtful; but in the night the voice of the god Silvanus was heard declaring that the Etruscans had lost one man more than the Romans. The former, accordingly, gave up all claim of victory, and marched home. At the funeral of Brutus, Valerius pronounced an oration over the body, and the Roman matrons mourned for him a year, as if for a father.

Valerius being left thus without a colleague, proceeded to build himself a house on the Velian hill. This caused him to be suspected by the people of aspiring to the throne, but he summoned the people to an assembly, and having lowered his fasces, in token of submission, he cleared himself so satisfactorily, that the people conferred upon him the title of Poplicola, or the honourer of the people.

In this year, the infant republic made a treaty with the great commercial city of Carthage, by which equal privileges were secured to the merchants of the two states.

The vanquished Tarquinius now sought aid from Lars Porsena, the powerful king of Clusium. Accordingly, Porsena marched to Rome and took the Janiculum, and the Tiber alone prevented him from entering the city. The wooden bridge (pons sublicius) was guarded by Horatius Cocles and two other heroes, Spurius Lartius and Titus Herminius. While these three bore the brunt of the battle, the Romans were breaking down the bridge behind. Just as it was tottering to its fall, Lartius and Herminius retreated across it. It fell with a mighty crash, and Horatius was alone.

Alone stood bold Horatius,  
But constant still in mind,  
Thrice thirty thousand foes before,  
And the broad flood behind.

\* \* \* \*

"Oh Tiber! Father Tiber,  
To whom the Romans pray,  
A Roman's life, a Roman's arms,  
Take thou in charge this day."  
So he spake, and, speaking, sheathed  
The good sword by his side,  
And with his harness on his back  
Plunged headlong in the tide.—MACAULAY.

"Father Tiber," he cried, "receive a soldier and a soldier's arms!" He then plunged into the tide, and swam safely to the opposite shore. The grateful Romans erected a statue in his praise, and assigned him as much land as he could plough round in one day.\*

They gave him of the corn-land,  
That was the public right,  
As much as two strong oxen  
Could plough from morn till night.  
And they made a molten image,  
And set it up on high,  
And there it stands unto this day,  
To witness if I lie.—MACAULAY.

Rome was now blockaded by the Etruscans, and began to suffer from famine. A young patrician, Caius Mucius, undertook to assassinate Porsena. He crossed the river, and entered the camp, but mistaking Porsena's secretary for the king, he stabbed him to the heart. He was then brought into the royal presence, and being threatened with the torture, he plunged his hand into the flame of the altar to show how well he could bear pain. Amazed at his gallant bearing, the king let him go free, and, as if rewarding him for his generosity, the youth thus addressed him, "Three hundred noble youths have sworn to have thy life. On me the lot first fell, the rest will be here in their turns." From the loss of his right hand, Mucius was surnamed Scaevola, or the left-handed.

Porsena then sent ambassadors to Rome to treat for peace. It was made on condition that the Veientian territory across the Tiber should be restored

\* A.U.C. 508, B.C. 246.

by the Romans, and that the Etruscan garrison should evacuate the Janiculum. The Romans gave hostages for the due performance of the conditions on their part. One of them, Clœlia, a Roman maiden escaped with her female companions, and swam safely across the Tiber. The Romans honourably restored them; but the noble-minded Porsena, not to be outdone in generosity, gave Clœlia her liberty, and permitted her to choose such of the hostages as she pleased to accompany her home. As became the modesty of a Roman maiden, she selected those who were of tender age as being least able to bear the hardships of slavery. The Etruscans then retired, and Tarquinius, finding there was no hope of his restoration, went into exile to Tusculum.

Relieved from the presence of Porsena, the Romans engaged in a Sabine war, during which a noble Sabine, Attus Clausus, migrated to Rome with a large band of clients. His name was changed to Appius Claudius, his family became patricians, and constituted the Claudian tribe; and an estate was given them beyond the Anio. Immediately after this event the Sabines were conquered. This year was a year of public mourning for the death of the patriotic consul, P. Valerius Poplicola.\*

Tarquinius, now resident at Tusculum, persuaded the thirty Latin towns to rise in his defence, and a last decisive battle was fought at the lake Regillus, on a plain between Frascati and Monte Poggio.† During the fight, the dictator Aulus beheld two youths of god-like aspect and heroic stature, and snow-white steeds, leading the Romans to victory.

—He was aware of a princely pair,  
That rode at his right hand;  
So like they were that no mortal  
Might one from other know;  
White as snow their armour was,  
Their steeds were white as snow.

\* A.U.C. 503, B.C. 251.

† A.U.C. 499, B.C. 255.

Never on earthly anvil  
Did such rare armour gleam,  
And never did such gallant steeds  
Drink of an earthly stream.—MACAULAY.

They were said to be Castor and Pollux, and Cicerō (De Nat. Deor. iii. 5) tells us that in his day, as an evidence of their presence, the mark of a horse's hoof was shown on a rock close by the lake. Tarquinius then fled to Cumæ, and died at the court of its tyrant, Aristodemus.

The tradition of the war with Porsena evidently marks a conquest of Rome by the Etruscans. Porsena was, doubtless, a mythical hero: the battle of the lake Regillus is a thoroughly Homeric battle. The chiefs fight in single combat; the wished-for reward of victory are the spoils of the vanquished; and many imitations of the Iliad may be traced in Livy's description. The romantic stories of Clœlia and Horatius were plainly the subjects of some old poetical lays and family traditions. The conquest was so complete that the Romans lost all their territory across the Tiber, and, according to the testimony of Tacitus (Hist. iii. 72), were denied the use of iron, except for implements of agriculture.

In the midst of the pressing difficulties of the Latin wars, Rome followed the example of her enemies, and appointed an officer, such as the Latins already had, called a dictator. He was invested for six months with all the power which the ancient kings possessed, and as they had immediately under their authority the tribune of the Celeres, so the dictator appointed a master of the knights.

T. Lartius was the first dictator, and A. Postumius, who commanded the Roman army at Regillus, was the second. The real object which the patricians had in appointing a dictator was to crush effectually the weakened powers of the commons, by doing away with the power of appeal which had been enacted by Valerius. Already a change of relation and an opposition

of interests between patrician and plebeian had begun to take place. The times were gone by—

When none was for a party,  
 When all were for the state,  
 When the great men helped the poor,  
 And the poor men loved the great;  
 When lands were fairly portioned,  
 When spoils were fairly sold,  
 And Romans were like brothers,  
 In the brave days of old.

Now Roman is to Roman  
 More hateful than a foe,  
 And the tribunes beard the high,  
 And the fathers grind the low.  
 As they wax hot in faction,  
 In battle they wax cold;  
 Wherefore men fight not as they fought  
 In the brave days of old.—MACAULAY.

Their intention was also to enforce strictly the provisions of the law of debt, and thus bring the plebeians to utter ruin. This law was one of singular severity, and pressed heavily upon the plebeians, because the patricians were the only wealthy class, and alone able to lend money.

When any one wished to borrow, he pledged himself, his children, and his property to his creditor, for the payment of the debt at a stated time. This process was called entering into a *nexum*, and the debtor himself was said to be *nexus*. If, when that time arrived, the debtor was unable to pay, he and all his family were assigned to the creditor (*addictus*), and became his slaves. The unfortunate debtor was not incarcerated in a public prison; but was entirely at the arbitrary will of his merciless creditor,—thus poverty was often punished more severely than crime, and chains, starvation and torture were the lot of those who were unable to repay, not only the sum borrowed, but the usurious interest which rapidly accumulated. If a man did not become *nexus* he was liable to be put to death or sold as a slave into a foreign land, or his creditors might cut his body in pieces, and divide it in proportion to their claims. But whilst debt thus ruined the commons, the



clients were protected by their patrons, for it was a patron's duty to pay his client's debts; and thus they retained their property, and by the support which their votes gave the patricians in the centuries they still further insured the oppression and subjection of the unhappy plebeians.

At length their distress became so intolerable that they determined to leave Rome, and seceded to a hill on the other side of the Anio, beyond the Ager Romanus, which was the appanage of the patricians. The hill on which they pitched their camp was the settlement of a plebeian tribe, formed out of the inhabitants of the Sabine town of Crustumerium, at the same time that Attus Clausus and his clients gave the name to the Claudian tribe. The patricians, alarmed at this desertion of those who constituted the strength of their army, urged them to return, and immediately acceded to the demands of the commons. These were, that all debts should be cancelled, and that two tribunes should be appointed from their own body, whose persons should be sacred and inviolate, and whose office should be to protect any plebeian from the jurisdiction of the consuls. Upon this they returned to the city, and the hill was henceforward named "Mons Sacer," the Sacred Hill.\*

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## CHAPTER V.

FAMINE—POLICY OF CORIOLANUS—HIS EXILE—HE JOINS THE VOLSCIANS—LISTENS TO THE ENTREATIES OF HIS MOTHER—LEAGUE WITH THE HERNICI—AGRARIAN LAW OF SPURIUS CASSIUS—HIS CONDEMNATION—WAR WITH THE JEQUI AND VEIENTIANS—PATRIOTISM OF M. FABIUS—THE FABII GO TO CREMERA—THEIR DEFEAT—LAWS OF VOLERO PUBLILIUS—AP. CLAUDIUS DESERTED BY HIS ARMY—HIS IMPEACHMENT—BILL OF TERENCELLUS ARSA—THE CAPITOL SEIZED—CINCINNATUS DICTATOR—BILL OF ICILIUS—LAWS OF THE TWELVE TABLES—SICCUS DENTATUS—STORY OF VIRGINIA—INSURRECTION OF THE ARMY.

DURING the secession, the farms remained uncultivated and famine ensued. The consuls bought up corn from

\* B.C. 493, A.U.C. 261.

all quarters, and the question was, how much was to be distributed to the commons. Caius Marcius, who the year before had taken the Volscian town Corioli, and was therefore surnamed Coriolanus,\* was a bitter enemy of the tribunes, and he declared that now was the time to recall the concessions which had been extorted from the patricians. The plebeians were enraged, the tribunes impeached him, and being condemned, he went into exile to the Volscians, who received him kindly, and fostered his growing enmity against his country. They then associated him with their most distinguished general, Attius Tullius, in the command of their army, and he marched to the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, where he laid waste the lands of the plebeians, carefully avoiding those of the patricians. Ambassadors were sent to implore him not to fight against his native land, but their entreaties were in vain.

Then his mother, wife, and children, with a band of noble Roman matrons, went to his camp. When Coriolanus, almost beside himself, hastened to embrace his mother, she stopped him: "Stay," said she; "first let me know whether I embrace a son or an enemy. Had I not been a mother, Rome would not have been besieged. Had I never had a son, I should have died free in a free country." The woman's tears prevailed: he withdrew his legions, and, as some say, died of grief.† According to other accounts, he lived to feel how bitter exile was in old age. In honour of these noble ladies the Romans built a temple to Female Fortune.

Two years afterwards,‡ a treaty was made with the Hernici, who had been vanquished the preceding year. By this treaty, in addition to that made with the Latins, the Romans had nearly recovered the territory which they had lost in the Etruscan wars, as well as the influence which they had enjoyed in old times as members of the Latin confederacy. The consuls of

\* B.C. 491, A.U.C. 263.

† B.C. 488, A.U.C. 266.

‡ B.C. 486, A.U.C. 268.

the year were Spurius Cassius and Proculus. It was the third time that the former had filled the office of consul, and he rendered this consulship famous by the proposal for the first time of the agrarian law. The nature of agrarian laws will be understood from the following explanation.

The territory of Rome was partly common and unenclosed, partly divided among the citizens. The common land was reserved as pasture, and any one might turn his cattle out to graze there on paying a fixed rent to the state. When fresh lands were acquired by conquest, those of them which were already cultivated were assigned to different persons, who paid a tithe of the produce to the public treasury for the right of occupation (*possessio*). When new citizens were made, each received a portion of land from the state, and this could only be effected by ejecting the occupiers (*possessores*). Now although a plebeian could have an allotment of freehold land, none but patricians could be occupiers or *possessores* of the public domain; hence, every agrarian law, the object of which was to turn out the occupiers and divide the land into separate freeholds, deprived the patricians of a beneficial tenure. For this reason these laws always met with strong opposition on the part of the patricians, and in the present instance their vengeance was successfully wreaked upon Spurius Cassius.

The object of his law was to divide part of the public land, and strictly to enforce the payment of tithe for the rest from the patrician occupiers. With the tithe he purposed to pay the plebeians when on active service in war. His colleague sided with the patricians, and when his consulship was over, the quæstors impeached him of treason, the curiæ condemned him; he was scourged and beheaded, and his house levelled with the ground.\*

The execution of Cassius secured the ascendancy of the patricians, and L. Æmilius and Kæso Fabius,

\* B.C. 485, A.U.C. 269.

the quæstor who had impeached Cassius, were chosen consuls, and for seven years we find some member of the powerful Fabian family in the consulship. The plebeians, in order to defend themselves against the encroachments of the patricians, refused to enlist for the war against the Ætqui and Veintians, and twice the tribunes interfered to protect the recusants; but the consuls rendered their influence useless by enlisting the soldiers beyond the walls, where the jurisdiction of the tribunes did not extend. On one occasion the hatred of the infantry was so strong against the consuls, that when the cavalry had put to rout the Veientian army, they refused to follow up the victory, but with looks so sad that you would have thought them conquered, and imprecating deep curses on their commanders, they retreated to their camp.

The next year,\* when the enemy challenged and provoked them to fight, the consuls would not give the signal for battle. The more unwilling they appeared, the more eager were the soldiers to engage; at length the signal was given, and the Roman infantry wiped off their disgrace by a decisive victory. In this battle, the consul, Manlius, and L. Fabius, the brother of the other consul, M. Fabius, were slain. The survivor, in the midst of this public and private mourning, refused the triumphal laurel, and led, instead, the funeral procession of his brother and his colleague. This noble-minded man yearned to reconcile the two orders of the state; he endeavoured to do so by dividing the wounded soldiery amongst the patricians, to be tended and cared for, and to his own family he assigned by far the greatest number. Thus the Fabii gained a well-merited popularity. But the same conduct which gained them the love of the plebeians, brought upon them the enmity of the patricians. They determined, therefore, to leave Rome, and to devote themselves to the defence of their country against the Veintians. Accordingly they founded a little colony on the river

\* A.U.C. 480, B.C. 274.

Cremera, which is a short distance from Rome. At first the arms of this brave house were successful; but two years after\* the little band of three hundred and six heroes were cut to pieces by the Veientians, and only one youth left to hand down their name and glory to posterity.

The consul, Menenius, had been near Cremera when this disaster happened; the plebeians, therefore, accused him of not preventing it. He was condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted for a fine of two thousand ases, and he died of a broken heart.

The opposition of the patricians to the agrarian law became now so determined, that it did not stop short even of assassinations; and, amongst other murders, the tribune, Genucius, who had been very active in favour of the law, was found dead in his bed.† In this state of things a defender of the plebeians rose up in the person of Volero Publilius. He had been a centurion, and the consuls now wished to enlist him in the ranks. He refused to be thus reduced, and the plebeians sympathizing with him, chose him as one of their tribunes.

Now, the tribunes had been hitherto elected by the centuries, in which patrician influence, exerted by means of their clients, was very powerful. Volero therefore proposed a law, that they should be elected by the comitia of the tribes, because in these the plebeians alone voted, and the clients were excluded. A strong opposition on the part of the patricians ensued; terrible popular disturbances were the consequence, and, at length, Volero was re-elected tribune,‡ and the law was passed in silence.

Five tribunes instead of two were now elected by the tribes; but, though successful, the plebeians could not forget the opposition of the consuls. Appius Claudius, especially, was so hated by the soldiery, that when he led them against the Volsci, who were now at war with

\* B.C. 477, A.U.C. 277.

† B.C. 473, A.U.C. 281.

‡ B.C. 471, A.U.C. 283.

Rome, they not only, like the Fabian army, would not conquer, but they even wilfully turned their backs, and basely fled. Appius was, nevertheless, determined to maintain discipline; he therefore scourged and beheaded the centurions, and decimated the whole army. Next year he was impeached for his opposition to the agrarian law.\* His proud spirit quailed not, his looks were as firm, his language as undaunted as ever; the entreaties of his friends could not induce him to solicit mercy: nay, many of the plebeians feared him now that he was pleading before them, as much as they had feared him when consul. He was condemned, but escaped popular vengeance by dying of disease. The tribunes wished to forbid the usual funeral oration, but the plebeians were too just to defraud of his just rights a man, who, though arrogant and self-willed, was, nevertheless, a great man, and listened as willingly to his praises when dead, as they had to his impeachment when living.

Agrarian disturbances still continued; and, in addition to the evils of civil strife, the unhappy city was devastated by a grievous pestilence. Moreover the Æqui and Volsci were constantly making predatory incursions into the territory of the Romans and their allies. Foreign war for a time put an end to internal discord; but when a decisive victory was gained over the enemy,† sedition broke out again with renewed violence.

In order to check the oppressive tyranny of the patricians, C. Terentillus Arsa, tribune of the commons, brought forward a bill for the appointment of a commission to form a code of laws, which should define the limits of the consular power.‡ The patricians strained every nerve to defeat the bill, and their leader was Kæso Quinctius, a young noble of great strength and size. So dangerous a foe did he appear, that the tribunes impeached him. A day for trial

\* B.C. 470, A.U.C. 284.

† B.C. 462, A.U.C. 292.

‡ B.C. 462, A.U.C. 292.

being fixed, he gave bail for his appearance, but meanwhile escaped into Etruria. The amount of the security given by his father L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, completely ruined him, so that he was forced to sell his property, and to retire to a cottage across the Tiber.

One night the Capitol was seized upon by four thousand men, composed of exiles and slaves, under the command of a Sabine, named Appius Herdonius. The plebeians refused to rescue it from the enemy, unless the consul would pledge himself that the bill of Terentillus should be sanctioned by the patricians. They then stormed the Capitol, and put the invaders to the sword. It was generally believed that K. Quinctius was the author of the plot, and that he was slain on this occasion.

The Æqui now broke the truce which had been granted to them some years before, and encamped on Mount Algidus. The consul Minucius led an army against them, but fell into an ambush and was surrounded by the enemy: from this danger the senate thought there was no one so capable of rescuing him as L. Quinctius Cincinnatus; they determined, therefore, to make him dictator. The deputies of the senate found him engaged in cultivating his little fields beyond the Tiber. They saluted him, and told him to put on his toga, in order that he might listen to the commands of the senate in a becoming manner; he accordingly bade his wife hasten and bring it to him. Then they saluted him as dictator. On arriving at Rome, he enlisted his army, and in three days marched to Algidus, where he surrounded the Æqui. A shout from his soldiers informed the consul that succour was at hand, and struck terror into the enemy. Within the short space of a single day he returned to Rome in triumph, and resigned his dictatorship, which he had held only sixteen days, for the tranquil pleasures of his rural abode.\*

\* B.C. 458, A.U.C. 296.



The determination with which the plebeians prosecuted their rights at length appears to have been rewarded with success. For five successive years they re-elected the same tribunes, and the result of this repeated show of strength was, that their numbers were increased from five to ten. The next year Icilius and his colleagues procured the passing of a bill, for assigning to the plebeians the rest of the Aventine, which had not been allotted by Ancus Martius, and which still remained unenclosed. This bill, therefore, was henceforth the exclusive property of the commons.\*

It will be remarked that one object of the bill proposed by Terentillus, was the reform of the laws; to this the patricians now agreed, and sent three commissioners to Athens, to examine and report on its constitution.† On their return, after an absence of three years, ten patricians were appointed to receive the report, and to draw up a new legislative code, and they were invested with almost arbitrary power. All other magistracies, plebeian as well as patrician, were temporarily suspended, in order that nothing might hinder the business of legislation. The new code received the sanction of the centuries and the curiæ, and, engraved on ten brazen tablets, was hung up in the comitium. Two more tables were, in the second Decemvirate, added to this code, which is known by the title of the Laws of the Twelve Tables, and many interesting fragments of it are still extant, which are both historically and philologically valuable. By this code, amongst various other enactments, the law of libel was made very severe; every criminal was entitled to demand bail; the appeal to the people was secured; and in cases of debt, he who had, and he who had not, entered into a *nexum* were considered equal in the eye of the law. By a law contained in the two additional tables, which were more aristocratic in their spirit than the original ten, marriages between patricians and plebeians were declared illegal.

\* B.C. 456, A.U.C. 298.

† B.C. 454, A.U.C. 300.

Niebuhr supposes that the decemvirate was intended to be perpetual, and that Rome was henceforth to be governed by these magistrates, as Athens was by its archons; that five were to be patricians and five plebeians, and consequently that the plebeian magistracies would be no longer necessary. The powers of the decemvirate were afterwards divided amongst the military tribunes, the censors, and the quæstors of blood.

However this may be, it was determined that the decemvirate should continue during at least one more year. Appius Claudius had so artfully veiled his overbearing and tyrannical disposition, and so skilfully recommended himself by the honest discharge of his duty, that he was re-elected with nine new colleagues, five of whom probably were plebeians. But when his election was secure, he immediately threw off the mask, and he and his colleagues were guilty of so much injustice and oppression, that alarm pervaded all classes, patricians as well as plebeians.

Their year of office ended, and they still retained their power. At the commencement of the next year, the Æqui and Sabines declared war, and made an inroad into the Roman territories, and into the possessions of the friendly people of Latium. Two armies were marched against the enemy, and both were conquered. In the army which opposed the Sabines was a brave plebeian named L. Sicius Dentatus, who, by his zeal for his order had provoked the hatred of the decemvirs. In order to rid themselves of him, they sent him out to reconnoitre, with a small band of soldiers, who were ordered to assassinate him. The brave warrior placed his back against a rock, and defended himself manfully, but at length he was overpowered by numbers and slain. Those of the assassins who returned, reported that they had fallen into an ambush of the enemy. But the party who went to bury those who had fallen, saw no traces of an enemy, no corpses plundered, and all the bodies of the slain turned towards Dentatus. It was plain, therefore, that he was murdered by his companions,

and no one doubted that the murder was committed by the order of the decemvirs.

But worse remains to be told. Appius Claudius, who had remained at home, saw a young plebeian maiden on her way to school, attended by her nurse. Her father, Virginius was a centurion, serving against the *Æqui*. She was betrothed to Icilius, the author of the Icilian law. Inflamed with lust, the tyrant determined to get her into his power. With this view he employed one of his creatures to seize her, and claim her as his property, and say that she was not the real daughter of Virginius's wife, but of a woman who had been his own slave, and that she had been stolen away and sold.

M. Claudius, for that was Appius Claudius's client's name, summoned Virginia before the decemvir's judgment seat. The decision was, that the pretended master should retain her until her father returned, and that then the case should be tried. But Icilius, and Numitorius the maiden's uncle, protested against the injustice of this sentence, and the populace seemed inclined to side with them. Appius, therefore, alarmed, postponed the trial for a day, to give Virginius time to return to Rome. Without delay, active messengers were sent to summon the father from the camp, and the wily decemvir sent a despatch to his colleagues, bidding them refuse Virginius leave of absence.

His wicked message arrived too late. Virginius had obtained his furlough, and was already on his way to Rome.

At early dawn on the appointed day of trial, all were on the tiptoe of expectation; when, lo! Virginius, in sordid mourning attire, led his child before the tribunal. He called upon all around him to aid him in a cause which was not his only, but theirs also. The matrons, who accompanied him, by their tears, more than any words or entreaties could have done, moved all except the unfeeling Appius. He at once pronounced the fatal sentence, which severed the father from the child. All stood aghast; a deep silence ensued. Virginius, per-

ceiving all hope was at an end, concealed his feelings, and begged Appius to allow him to question his daughter by herself, that so, if she were really not his daughter he might be more resigned. He then led her aside to the neighbouring shambles, snatched up a knife, and plunged it into her breast, exclaiming, "Thus alone, my daughter, can I secure thee liberty!"

Straightway Virginius led the maid a little space aside,  
To where the reeking shambles stood piled up with horn and hide,  
Close to yon low dark archway, where in a crimson flood,  
Leaps down to the great sewer the gurgling stream of blood,  
Hard by a fletcher on a block had laid his whittle down,  
Virginius caught the whittle up and hid it in his gown.  
And then his eyes grew very dim and his throat began to swell,  
And in a hoarse-changed voice he spake, "Farewell! sweet child,  
farewell!

Oh, how I loved my darling! though stern I sometimes be,  
To thee, thou knows't, I was not so, who could be so to thee?

Then clasp me round the neck once more, and give me one more  
kiss,

And now, mine own dear little girl, there is no way but this."  
With that he lifted high the steel, and smote her in the side,  
And in her blood she sank to earth, and with one sob she died.

Then turning to Appius, he cried, "By this innocent blood I curse thee! be it on thy head!" In vain Appius commanded him to be seized; making his way through the crowd, with the bloody knife, he went straight to the gate of the city. Then ensued a frightful tumult. Indignation at the atrocious deed inspired the populace with the desire of recovering their lost liberty. Appius was attacked and fled for his life to a house near the forum amidst the insults and imprecations of the populace.

One stone hit Appius in the mouth, and one beneath the ear,  
And ere he reached Mont Palatine he swooned with pain and fear,  
His cursed head that he was wont to hold so high with pride,  
Now like a drunken man's hung down, and swayed from side to  
side;

And when his stout retainers had brought him to his door,  
His face and neck were all one cake of filth and clotted gore.

MACAULAY.

Meanwhile Virginius, stained with his daughter's blood, had reached the camp, and assembled round him

a crowd of his comrades, to hear his piteous tale. All called aloud for vengeance, and the whole army plucked up their standards, and marched to the plebeian demesne, on the Aventine. There encamped, they elected, at the advice of Virginius, ten leaders, whom they called tribunes of the soldiers. They were soon joined by the army from the Sabine territory, to whom Icilius and Numitorius had told Virginius' story, and who also appointed tribunes of the soldiers. The combined armies then sent delegates to the senate, but they refused redress, and the decemvirs would not resign. When their refusal was made known, the army, attended by a vast number of both sexes and every age, left Rome, and seceded a second time to the Sacred Hill.

Thus deserted by the flower of the army, the patricians gave way, and the decemvirs resigned. A decree of the senate passed, that the pontifex maximus should appoint tribunes of the commons, and an indemnity for the secession was granted. Icilius at first demanded the lives of the decemvirs; but Valerius and Horatius, who were sent by the senate to treat with the plebeians, calmed the desire for vengeance, and promised that all the just claims of the plebeians should be granted. So the commons returned to the Aventine, and, as Cicero tells us, were even permitted to occupy the Capitol. Ten tribunes of the commons were appointed, and Valerius and Horatius were elected consuls. This was the first year in which the chief magistrates bore that title, and were elected by the centuries. Hitherto they had been called prætors, and one had always been elected by the curiæ, and the election subsequently confirmed by the centuries. Thus was the old constitution restored, and the odious decemvirate abolished for ever.\*

\* B.C. 448, A.U.C. 306.

## CHAPTER VI.

LAWS OF VALERIUS AND HORATIUS—DEATH OF APPIUS—LAW OF CANULEIUS—CONSULAR TRIBUNES—THE CENSORSHIP INSTITUTED—FAMINE AT ROME—CINCINNATUS DICTATOR—SP. MELIUS KILLED—OBSCURE PERIOD OF HISTORY—WARS WITH FIDENE AND VEII—RUMOURS OF THE GAULS—FALL OF VEII—THE SCHOOLMASTER OF FALERII—DIVISION OF THE LANDS OF VEII—EXILE OF CAMILLUS—THE GAULS MARCH TO ROME—ROME BURNT—INTERNAL STATE OF ROME—CONDUCT OF MANLIUS—HE IS IMPEACHED AND CONDEMNED.

THE period which immediately followed the decemvirate, though obscure, is one of great political importance. The plebeians had evidently gained a signal victory. During their struggle they had occupied the stronghold of the Capitol, and their friends, Valerius and Horatius, had been elected chief magistrates, by a more popular method, and with a new and more popular title.

The consuls commenced their year of office by passing a law, that any decree of the commons, which had been sanctioned by the senate and the curiæ, should bind the whole people; and another, that to preside at the appointment of a magistrate without appeal, should be a capital offence; lastly, they protected the persons of all popular magistrates with the severest enactments. Thus was the tribunitial authority and the liberty of the commons firmly established, and a step taken towards breaking down the barriers of caste, which was afterwards followed by subsequent enactments.

Virginus, who was one of the tribunes, then impeached Appius, and he was cast into prison, but rather than wait the event of a trial, he died by his own hand. The same fate befel Spurius Oppius, another of the decemvirs; the rest fled from Rome, and their property was confiscated, and sold to enrich the public treasury.



Duilius, the tribune, now thought it time to put a stop to popular vengeance; and domestic tranquillity being established, the consuls took the command of the armies, and marched, the one against the Volsci and Æqui, the other against the Sabines. Although they were both victorious, the senate, jealous of their popularity, refused them a triumph; but the plebeians took up the cause of their favourites; and on the motion of the tribune Icilius, granted them one, and thus advanced one more step towards equal rights with the patricians. The Sabines now became friends with Rome, nor was this friendship interrupted for a hundred and fifty years.

The following year the commons wished to re-elect the popular consuls and tribunes, but the tribune, Duilius, opposed this impolitic measure. New magistrates were chosen, and among the tribunes were two patricians who had served the office of consul.

Another step was taken in the same direction by the tribune,\* L. Canuleius, who brought in a bill for permitting marriages between the patrician and plebeian orders, which had been forbidden by the laws of the Twelve Tables. This law the senate, though reluctantly, was induced to pass. The rest of the tribunes proposed that one consul should always be a plebeian. A violent contest ensued, which was settled by the following modification: that instead of consuls, tribunes of the soldiers, with consular power, should be appointed indiscriminately from either order. Three were accordingly elected, and all were patricians.

Two years after the events just related,† the constitution underwent another important change. The duty of registering the citizens, and determining their place in the classes, and therefore the political privileges which they should enjoy, and the taxes which they were to pay, belonged to the consuls. This duty, which implied almost absolute power, of the most important kind, was now transferred to two patrician magistrates, chosen

\* B.C. 445, A.U.C. 309.

† B.C. 443, A.U.C. 311.



by the *curiæ*, who were to hold office for five years. The powers of the censorship were, nine years afterwards, limited to a duration of a year and a half. Two patrician *quæstors* were also appointed, who were to administer justice in cases of blood; and lastly all the other functions of the consuls were intrusted to tribunes of the soldiers. None of these magistrates, with the exception of the last, could be chosen from plebeians; and, therefore, by this change, the patricians kept the most influential powers of the constitution in their own hands.

Nothing of especial interest is recorded in history during the ensuing three years;\* but after that interval Rome was afflicted with a terrible famine. L. Minucius was appointed *præfect* of the market, to devise means for relieving the universal distress. His endeavours to buy sufficient corn failed; and a rich plebeian knight, Sp. Mælius, bought up large quantities, and distributed it to the poor at a low price, and in some cases gratis. The patricians envied him the popularity which he thus gained, and deeming him a dangerous person, appointed L. Q. Cincinnatus, now eighty years old, dictator. He made C. Servilius Ahala his master of the horse, and then summoned Mælius to his tribunal. Mælius, alarmed, fled, and implored the protection of the people. Ahala followed him and killed him; and the dictator defended the deed on the ground of his disobedience to the summons of a magistrate, and ordered his house to be levelled to the ground.†

Historical tradition now informs us of wars breaking out with the Veientians, Falisci, and Fidenates, in which A. Cornelius Cossus is said to have slain Lar Tolumnius, king of Veii, and to have been the second who offered the *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius. Some years afterwards,‡ a pestilence raged at Rome, nearly at the same time with that which devastated Athens at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war.

\* B.C. 440, A.U.C. 314.

† B.C. 439, A.U.C. 313.

‡ B.C. 431, A.U.C. 323.

Few known events mark this obscure period of history. Tradition tells of war still continuing with the Æqui, Volsci, and Fidenates. The annals name, as chief magistrates, sometimes consuls, sometimes tribunes. Agrarian laws were mooted, probably, for the purpose of dividing the lands which had been acquired in those wars; and in order to manage the revenue derived from the spoil and increase of territory, the number of the quæstors was increased from two to four, and to this office patricians and plebeians were made eligible without distinction.\*

The foreign events of this period, which were the most important in their results, were those which related to the wars with the Fidenatians. Fidenæ was an Etruscan town, situated on an escarped hill a few miles north of Rome; in early times it had been conquered, and it had thus become a Roman colony. Its subject population was Etruscan, the dominant part, or citizens, Roman. In A.U.C. 317, the Etruscan commons of Fidenæ became powerful enough to throw off the Roman yoke, and unite themselves as allies to the inhabitants of the city of Veii. Hence arose a war with Veii; and the occasion was considered of sufficient importance for the appointment of A. Servilius Priscus as dictator in A.U.C. 320. He was successful at that time; but in A.U.C. 329, there was a second insurrection, and Mamercus Æmilius was made dictator. He gained a signal victory over the united forces of Veii and Fidenæ. The Etruscan population of the latter was put to the sword, and a truce for twenty years made with the Veientians, A.U.C. 330.

In A.U.C. 347, the truce was interrupted, and Veii having suffered from internal commotions, the Romans perceived that they were the stronger of the two, and the patricians, anxious for an increase of territory, determined upon war. The commons refused to sanction a levy of troops, unless some advantage should be secured to them. Accordingly, it was determined,

\* B.C. 421, A.U.C. 333.

A.U.C. 348, that the army should receive pay, and that six tribunes of the soldiers should be annually appointed. One only of these magistrates was to be necessarily a patrician, and he was to discharge the judicial functions afterwards belonging to the prætor of the city.

The commons were then satisfied, and war was declared against Veii, and the next year that city was besieged.\* The only Etruscan cities which assisted Veii in this struggle, were Capena and Falerii; for, when the question was debated whether the whole Etruscan league should take up the quarrel as a national affair, news was brought that a new and formidable enemy, the Gauls, had, for the first time, crossed the Alps, and were pouring their barbarian hordes into the flourishing territory of northern Etruria. Still these three confederate cities were strong enough to defeat the Roman armies; and in their alarm, the Romans created M. Furius Camillus dictator.

History now gives place to legendary story, and the narrative which we have of the fall of Veii is founded on the private traditions of the family of the Furii.

The siege had continued seven years,† when, lo! in the very midst of the droughts of summer, the volcanic lake of Alba overflowed its banks, and flooded the plains below. An Etruscan seer oracularly sung that the Romans never should take Veii until the waters of the lake were drained. The senate then determined to send and consult the far-famed oracle of Delphi. The answer of the Delphian priestess confirmed the prophecy of the old Etruscan. The Romans, therefore, dug channels, and turned the waters into the fields, and thus drained the lake.

The Veientians now sent deputies to Rome, to sue for peace, but it was refused; and, meanwhile, Camillus divided his engineers into gangs, and each working in succession, dug a mine into the citadel. When the mine was completed, Camillus vowed a tithe of the spoil to the Delphian god, and gave the signal for the

\* B.C. 405, A.U.C. 349.

† B.C. 398, A.U.C. 356.

assault. The battle raged, and the king of Veii was offering a solemn sacrifice in the temple of Juno, exactly over the mine. Just as the officiating augur was exclaiming "Whoever is the first to cut these entrails, to him the victory shall be," the mine was burst open, and a Roman soldier seized the entrails, and bore them to the dictator. Thus Veii was taken, after having been, like Troy, besieged ten years; and Camillus lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed that if, on account of such success, either gods or men felt any envy, it should visit him and his country as lightly as possible; having thus prayed, he stumbled and fell, and this accident was considered at the time as a bad omen.

The statues of the gods of Veii were then removed to Rome; and when a youth, either in jest, or, as the legend says, divinely inspired, asked that of Juno, whether she would go to Rome, the image is said miraculously to have answered, "I will." She was accordingly removed, and a temple was built in her honour on the Aventine.

Camillus returned to Rome in triumph; and the success which had attended the Roman arms at Veii accompanied them also at Capena and Falerii, for both surrendered.

It is said that when the Romans were before Falerii, a schoolmaster, who had the charge of the children of the nobility, being out for a walk with his pupils, led them gradually to the enemy's camp, and offered to deliver them into the hands of Camillus. The honest Romans, indignant at his treachery, stripped him, tied his hands behind his back, and made his own boys flog him back to the city.

• Together with peace, discontent and sedition appear to have revived at Rome; and, in order to restore tranquillity, it was decided to draft a colony into the territory of the conquered Volscians, and assign to each man who went, three jugera and a half of land. The commons refused the proffered boon, and proposed that a colony

of both orders should migrate to Veii. This the patricians firmly opposed; "for," said they, "if there is strife in one city, how bitter would be the enmity between them if there were two!" Camillus supported the views of the patricians, and, consequently, the measure was given up. The plebeians were soothed by distributing amongst them some of the lands of the Veientians.\*

In A.U.C. 363, it is said that a miraculous voice echoed through the silence of night, announcing that the Gauls were coming; but, as the Romans had scarcely heard of that people, the warning was unheeded, and, as if by a sort of fatality, they deprived themselves even of human aid, for they took offence at the brave Camillus, and accused him of appropriating to himself some of the spoil of Veii. He was consequently impeached by the tribune Apuleius, and being fined fifteen thousand ases, went into voluntary exile.

When Camillus left Rome, he is said to have prayed that his country might soon have reason to repent of its ingratitude. That same year, as though his prayer had been heard and granted, the Gauls, a barbarous, yet warlike race, which inhabited probably the whole of Europe as far east as the Rhine, poured into North Italy, then crossed the Apennines, and attacked the Etrurian city of Clusium.† The inhabitants sent to their Roman allies to ask for aid against their savage foe; and the senate in reply, sent three of the Fabii to remonstrate with the Gauls. Being unsuccessful in their mission, they joined the Clusines, a battle was fought, and Q. Fabius was recognized, whilst spoiling a Gaul whom he had slain.

Brennus, the chieftain of the Gauls, then sent to Rome to demand that the Fabii should be given up, as having violated the law of nations, in bearing arms before war had been formally declared. The Feciales, who were the interpreters of the international law, urged compliance with this demand, but the people

\* B.C. 393, A.U.C. 361.

† B.C. 391, A.U.C. 363.

took up the cause of the Fabii, and elected them tribunes of the soldiers. On the return of the ambassadors, without having effected their object, Brennus marched for Rome. On their way, the Gauls respected the property of the peasantry, and crossing the Tiber, encamped on the bank of the Allia, one of its tributaries, about twelve miles from the city.

The position which the Romans had taken up on first hearing of the approach of the Gauls, was in the plains near Veii, but when they discovered the route which the enemy was taking, they met him at the Allia, on the 16th of July, the very day, it is said, on which the three hundred Fabii were slain at Cremera. The Gauls were seventy thousand, the Romans forty thousand strong, and the former, owing to their superior numbers, gained a complete victory. So great was the loss which the Romans sustained, that they despaired of maintaining possession of the city, and therefore determined to garrison and defend the Capitol, whilst the mass of the people took refuge in the neighbouring towns. Eighty aged patriotic nobles would not forsake Rome, but arrayed in solemn robes of state, and seated on ivory chairs, they awaited in the forum the invasion of their barbarian enemies.\*

When the Gauls entered the city, the utter silence, and the venerable appearance of these godlike men, struck them with awe; at last one dared to stroke the long white beard of M. Papirius. The old man could not brook the indignity, but struck the soldier on the head with his ivory wand; the exasperated Gaul drew his sword and slew him. This was a signal for a general massacre; the work of plunder and destruction commenced, and soon Rome was a heap of smoking ruins.

The Capitol, however, held out against their attacks, and they changed the siege into a blockade. It was

\* As Niebuhr considers the account given by Diodorus, l. xiv., the true one, I have adopted it, and left the legend of Camillus, which Livy pursues.



now the invaders' turn to suffer; the deadly autumn came on, and the malaria, which still devastates Rome at this season of the year, carried off the Gauls by hundreds. Meanwhile a Roman youth had swum the Tiber, and scaled the Capitol unperceived, and had informed the small band of besieged heroes that they might hope for succour. But next morning, his traces were discovered by the Gauls, a bush to which he had clung was torn up by the roots, the grass bore marks of footsteps; here then was a way to surprise the garrison. The scaling party ascended in the silence of night; they were unheard. But suddenly some geese, no contemptible birds then, but sacred to Juno, awoke and screamed. A patrician, named M. Manlius, was roused just time enough to hurl down the foremost Gaul upon the heads of those who followed, and all fell down the precipice.

Thus was the Capitol saved; and each man out of his scanty store, gave Manlius a little corn and wine, the greatest and most unselfish reward which they could bestow in this time of scarcity and famine. Six months were the Romans thus beleaguered, when the Gauls heard that their own homes were invaded by the neighbouring Venetians; they therefore agreed to depart, on being paid one thousand pounds of gold. The weights which the Gauls brought were found to be false; and the tribune of the soldiers remonstrated, but Brennus insolently threw his sword into the scale, exclaiming, "Woe to the conquered." So they took the gold and evacuated Italy.\*

Rather than rebuild their desolate city, the plebeians were anxious to remove to Veii, but the patricians, attached to the ancient glory of old Rome, were vehement in their opposition. An omen decided the question, for in the comitium, a centurion was heard giving the word of command to his standard-bearer, "Halt, 'twere best to remain here." Rome was therefore to be rebuilt and as each man took materials for his house

\* B.C. 389, A.U.C. 365.



whence he pleased, and selected his own position, there was no attention paid to order and regularity, and what was still worse, the line of the old sewers did not coincide with the new streets.

In order to increase the diminished population, the privilege of citizenship was conferred on those Etrurian towns which had surrendered, or united themselves in alliance to Rome, during the war against Veii, and they were distributed into four new tribes; thus the number of the tribes was now twenty-five. Many of the neighbouring states, however, are said to have taken advantage, during the ensuing ten years, of the distress and ruin which had befallen Rome, but their attacks were ineffectual. For the Romans, under their general Camillus, were victorious over all their foes, and grew stronger and more powerful every year.

The internal state of Rome was wretched in the extreme. The plebeians had lost their all. Houses were to be rebuilt, farms to be re-stocked; lands, which war had laid waste, to be brought again into cultivation. The war-tax (*tributum*), too, was heavy, and the Capitol and temples were to be restored. In order to do this, money was borrowed at a usurious rate of interest. The law of the Twelve Tables, which limited interest to ten per cent., was disregarded, and all the rigour of the cruel enactments against debtors was enforced. Nay it was even said, that the produce of the tax levied for the purpose of replacing the sacred treasures which had furnished Brennus the thousand pounds of gold, was embezzled by the patricians.

In this emergency, Manlius, who saved the Capitol, stood forward as the defender of the distressed. One day, seeing a distinguished centurion dragged to prison for debt, he paid the creditor his demand, and set free the prisoner, who hailed him in the enthusiasm of his gratitude, as parent of the plebeians. It is said that he also assisted and relieved at his own cost no fewer than four hundred debtors.

His popularity with the plebeians, and his constant

accusations of the patricians, that they had embezzled the taxes, caused him to be considered by the latter as a dangerous person. The dictator therefore, A. Cornelius Cossus, imprisoned him. The senate, fearing his popularity, caused him to be set at liberty; he then became more violent than before, and even guilty of open sedition. This time, his conduct was so glaring, that even the tribunes could not shut their eyes to his treason, consequently they impeached him, and he was tried by the centuries in the Campus Martius.

His affecting appeal to the debtors whom he had saved, to his wounds, services, and decorations in war, and above all, to the Capitol itself, which towered in their very sight, prevailed, and the people would not find him guilty. The court was then adjourned to a spot whence the Capitol could not be seen, and there the fickle people, no longer visibly reminded of his patriotic bravery, condemned him to death. He was cast down from the Tarpeian rock, and thus the same spot witnessed his glory and his disgrace. No patrician for the future was allowed to dwell, as he had done, in the Capitol, nor would his gens allow any one of its members for the future, to bear the name of Marcus Manlius.

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## CHAPTER VII.

TRIBUNESHIP AND LEGISLATION OF LICINIUS STOLO—THE PRETORSHIP AND CURULE EDILESHIP—DEVOTION OF CURTIUS—LEGENDS OF MANLIUS TORQUATUS AND VALERIUS CORVUS—IMPEACHMENT OF LICINIUS STOLO—COMMISSION TO LIQUIDATE DEBTS—FIRST SAMNITE WAR—MUTINY IN THE ROMAN ARMY—THE DEMANDS OF THE SOLDIERY GRANTED—BILL OF GENUCIUS—SEVERITY OF MANLIUS—SELF-DEVOTION OF DECICIUS—LAWS OF PUBLICIUS—TREATY WITH THE KING OF EPIRUS—DISOBEDIENCE OF Q. FABIUS RULLIANUS—SECOND SAMNITE WAR—SURRENDER AT CAUDIUM—GENEROUS CONDUCT OF PONTIUS—TRUCE WITH THE SAMNITES—COLONIES FOUNDED—WAR WITH ETRURIA.

THE long-continued distresses of the plebeians had well-nigh crushed their political power; but at length

some fresh hope dawned upon them by the election of C. Licinius Stolo amongst the tribunes of the commons.\* Though a plebeian, he was very wealthy, and connected with high patrician families: he thus possessed influence with both orders.

Aided by a young and active colleague, L. Sextius, he proposed the three bills which bore his name; the first enacted, that in every case of debt the interest paid should be deducted from the principal, and that the payment of the latter should be spread over a period of three years. The second, that no one should occupy more than five hundred jugera of the public domain. The third, that the tribuneship of the soldiers should be replaced by the consulship, and that one consul should always be a plebeian.

The patricians stoutly opposed all these bills, and Licinius and Sextius exercised their right of veto to prevent the election of any curule magistrates. This state of things is said to have continued for five years; but Dr. Arnold's opinion is, that so long a duration of anarchy is scarcely credible. However this may be, the plebeians were steadily advancing to power. Licinius, who was year after year re-elected tribune, brought in a bill, to place the Sibylline books in the custody of ten commissioners, eligible from both orders. This was striking at once at the ancient prejudice that the functions of religion could only be performed by a member of the gentes. Although this fourth bill provoked a more violent resistance than the rest of the measures of Licinius, it was nevertheless passed and the other three delayed. In the course of the opposition, two dictators are said to have been appointed, namely, M. Camillus, the staunch friend of the patricians, and P. Manlius Capitolinus.

One of the strongest opponents of the bills was Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, who especially insisted on the impiety of the consulship being held by plebeians, which by their earliest laws was assigned to

\* B.C. 376, A.U.C. 378.

the patrician order. In the year A.U.C. 383,\* tribunes of the soldiers, with consular power, were elected for the last time. The Licinian bills were passed, but a new judicial office, the prætorship, was created, which was to be filled by a patrician, and Sp. Camillus, the son of the dictator, was the first prætor. Two new magistrates were also appointed to preside over the great national games, with the title of *curule ædiles*. This office was to be filled alternately by patricians and plebeians.

The three following years were years of pestilence, of which the most illustrious victim was M. Camillus, whose heroic deeds as a warrior and a patriot, form the theme of legendary story. To avert the anger of the gods who had afflicted Rome with this scourge, stage dances were first introduced, which afterwards improved into the form of dramatic exhibitions. There were other signs also of the divine anger; the Tiber overflowed the Circus Maximus, and put a stop to the games—a deep gulf gaped in the forum, which could not be filled up. The prophets sang, that on this spot must be dedicated the true source of Roman strength and power. Then it is said that M. Curtius, a youth of prowess, asked what could that be but arms and valour. And so, devoting himself solemnly to the gods below, he mounted his war-steed in full armour, and plunged into the yawning gulf: it closed over him, and the place was ever after called the leap of Curtius.†

From A.U.C. 396 to A.U.C. 404,‡ Rome was engaged in war with Tarquinii and Falerii; and in A.U.C. 397,§ the Tarquinienses defeated the Romans under C. Fabius, and sacrificed three hundred and seven Roman prisoners of war: this slaughter was avenged in A.U.C. 401,|| by putting to death three hundred and fifty-eight of the flower of the Tarquinian nobility. Twice also the Gauls appeared in Latium; and twice, namely,

\* B.C. 371.

† B.C. 358, B.C. 350.

‡ B.C. 362, A.U.C. 392.

§ B.C. 357.

|| B.C. 353.

in A.U.C. 396 and A.U.C. 405,\* were they signally defeated.

Two legends belong to these Gallic wars. T. Manlius fought with and slew a gigantic Gaul, and took from him as a trophy, a golden twisted collar (torques): so he and his fraternity assumed the surname of Torquatus. Another giant measured his strength with a young hero, M. Valerius: just as the duel commenced, a crow (corvus) perched upon Valerius's helmet, and kept pecking and tearing the eyes and face of the Gaul. Aided by the miraculous bird, the Roman was victorious, and the name of Corvus was afterwards borne by him and his family.

At home, strange to tell, Licinius, nine years after his bills were passed, was himself impeached for evading his own law.† He was accused of occupying, in addition to his own five hundred jugera, five hundred more in the name of his son, and was fined ten thousand ases.

As the object of the Licinian bill for the relief of poor debtors was only to reduce the principal and to defer the payment of the debt, it was, of course, productive of but slight good to those who had little or nothing. Accordingly, another attempt was made to lighten their burdens by two of the tribunes, Mænius and Duilius,‡ who brought in a bill to restrict the amount of legal interest to ten per cent., as fixed by the law of the Twelve Tables. This measure, however, proved insufficient, and in A.U.C. 402,§ the consuls, C. Marcus Rutilius and P. Valerius, caused a commission of five to be issued, whose business it was to advance ready money on good security, and to fix the value at which land and stock should be tendered in the place of money, which now began to be very scarce. In A.U.C. 407,|| a still further attempt was made to relieve the prevailing insolvency, by reducing the legal rate of interest to five per cent.

\* B.C. 358, B.C. 349.

† B.C. 357, A.U.C. 397.

‡ B.C. 357, A.U.C. 397.

§ B.C. 352.

|| B.C. 347.

This period of history, though obscure and difficult of chronological arrangement, is undoubtedly marked by great increase of power on the part of the commons. During it, C. Marcus Rutilus was appointed the first plebeian dictator; and not long afterward, the first plebeian censor. With respect to the affairs of Italy, the struggles which Rome had long maintained with her neighbours, ended in the renewal of the alliance with the Latins and Hernici, and in the increase of her power and population, by conferring on the Volscians of the Pomptine territory the rights of citizenship, and incorporating them into new tribes—thus making the total number twenty-seven.

In A.U.C. 411,\* the Romans commenced a stubborn conflict with new rivals. The Samnites were a Sabellian race, inhabiting those mountainous regions and adjacent valleys, which, jutting out from the Apennines, are now called the Matese. They were, like most mountaineers, a brave, free, and independent people. A treaty had been made between them and the Romans, in the year A.U.C. 400.† But, ten or eleven years afterwards, the Samnites made war on their neighbours, the Sidicimian highlanders, who begged the Campanians to help them. The warlike Samnites soon mastered the luxurious inhabitants of the fertile plains of Campania, and they sought aid from Rome, offering, in return, to acknowledge the Roman supremacy. This offer tempted the Romans to break their treaty with the Samnites, and two armies marched from Rome, one into Campania under M. Valerius Corvus; the other, commanded by A. Cornelius Cossus, into Samnium.

The first, though the position which it occupied was unfavourable, gained a signal victory. The other, entangled in the mountain passes and defiles, suddenly beheld, on the natural limestone citadels above their heads, the army of the enemy. Destruction seemed inevitable; but P. Decius Mus saved them by his prowess, and a general engagement followed, in

\* B.C. 343.

† B.C. 354.



which it is said that thirty thousand Samnites were slain.

In order to protect the Campanians from any inroads of the Samnites, a Roman army remained quartered in their different towns throughout the winter. Placed thus in the midst of wealth and luxury, they determined to seize Capua, and reduce the Campanians to subjection. The endeavours of their commanders were insufficient to quell the mutiny, and the army marched for Rome, and encamped near Tusculum, on the Alban Hills. On its way, the debtors, who were working as slaves on the different estates through which it passed, swelled its ranks to the number of twenty thousand.

The plebeians, whom debt had reduced to despair, gladly embraced the opportunity of insurrection, and marched to join them. The patricians, in their extremity, appointed Valerius Corvus dictator, who, being always popular, was soon at the head of a large force.\* When the armies met, they shrunk with horror from the idea of civil war. T. Quinctius, whom the mountaineers had made their unwilling commander, urged them to make peace, with tears in his eyes; and, on condition of safety and the promise of relief, they surrendered to the dictator.

It is worthy of remark, that T. Quinctius, whom the mutineers forced to be their general, was a patrician: nor is this the first occasion on which we find patricians popular with and favouring the cause of the commons. It is plain, therefore, that now, for some time, the struggle had not been only between the two orders, but between rich and poor, between those who had money to lend and those who were crushed by debt and insolvency. The right of intermarriage had amalgamated many of the principal plebeian families with the patricians, and besides these it is probable that some of the wealthiest commoners joined the patrician side in times of popular commotion.

The terms demanded and obtained by the soldiery

\* B.C. 432, A.U.C. 412.



were, that no soldier's name should be erased from the legion in which he served without his own consent, and that no one who had been a tribune should serve again as a centurion. The reason of the first demand was, that whilst their name was on the roll they were protected from arrest for debt; that of the second was, that promotion to the centurionship should be open to those of lower rank, instead of the post being filled by others descending to it who had occupied higher positions. These reasonable requests were granted; but a third was refused, namely the reduction of the pay of the cavalry, who now received three times the pay of the infantry.

It is recorded by some historians, that on this occasion L. Genucius, tribune of the commons, brought in a bill to forbid usury; and that two other bills were also passed, the one to prevent any individual from holding the same magistracy twice within ten years, the other to allow of both consuls being plebeians. Whether these concessions were made to the commons is uncertain; at any rate there is no record of two plebeian consuls until A.U.C. 581. But if so it proves their rapidly increasing power, and the important results of this sedition.

These misfortunes at home gave an opportunity for the power of the Latins to increase, and we find them at the head of a confederacy of some of the Volscian tribes—the Aurunci and the Campanians. And as now the question appeared to be whether Rome should or should not enjoy the supremacy over Latium, the Romans, in A.U.C. 413,\* made an alliance with the Samnites. The Latins demanded the amalgamation of the two nations, and that they should form half the senate. This was indignantly refused, and war was declared.

An instance of the sternness of Roman discipline saddens the history of this war. As the Latins used the same language, arms, and customs, and had often fought as comrades with the Romans, Manlius, the consul, issued a command that no one should fight out of

\* B.C. 341.

the ranks. But Geminus, a knight of Tusculum, insolently challenged the son of Manlius to single combat. Young Manlius, regardless of the general order, accepted the challenge, and slew his foe. Joyously he returned to his father's tent, bearing the trophies of his victory. The stern father would not look upon his son, but, in the presence of the army, summoned by sound of trumpet he sentenced him to death for disobedience of orders. All stood aghast at this act of cruelty, nor could they refrain from mingling curses with their lamentations. The young hero's corpse was burnt with military honours, and "the commands of Manlius" became a proverb for ever.

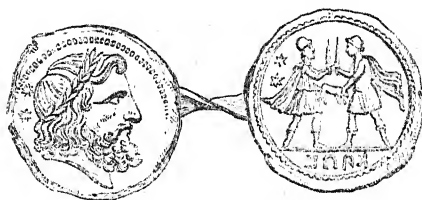
Some excuse, however, may be made for T. Manlius, for the urgency of the occasion required the strictest discipline: and we are told that this terrible example rendered the army more obedient, and that the severity of the general was of the greatest use in a conflict in which it was very difficult to distinguish friend from foe. Moreover, he who would not spare his son, showed that he was ready if necessary to sacrifice himself. It is said that before the battle a spectral form appeared to both the consuls, and declared that on one side a general, on the other an army, were due to the gods below. The consuls, therefore, determined that he whose troops first gave way should devote himself solemnly to the manes.

The battle was fought near the foot of Mount Vesuvius; and as the left wing, which Decius commanded, gave way, he devoted himself according to the form recited by the pontiff. He then mounted his horse and galloped into the thickest of the fight, where he fell covered with wounds. This decided the fortune of the day, and the remnant of the Latin army fled to Minturnæ.\*

Capua immediately surrendered. The Latins rallied at Minturnæ, and made one more ineffectual attempt at resistance, but their subjugation was then complete. Their league was dissolved; their lands portioned out

\* B.C. 340, A.U.C. 414.

amongst the citizens of Rome. The Campanian nobles had been averse to joining the Latin league; they were, therefore, made Roman citizens, with the right of intermarriage; and as their lands had been forfeited, the city of Capua was compelled to pay to each the yearly sum of four hundred and fifty denarii.



A CAPUAN COIN.

In the distribution of this newly acquired property the grasping covetousness of the patricians injured them more than their victory had benefited them, for ill-feeling arose on account of the commons being defrauded of their just share, and Q. Publilius was in consequence appointed dictator.\* He was a plebeian, and passed four laws. The first that the decrees of the commons should bind the whole people; the second that the curiæ should authorize the enactments of the centuries before the votes were taken: the third that one censor should necessarily be a plebeian; the fourth that plebeians should be eligible to the prætorship. The first plebeian who was raised to that office was Q. Publilius Philo, in A.U.C. 417. The two orders of the state were now equally eligible to all offices and magistracies, and hence in this memorable year the barriers of caste were finally broken down, and the struggles between patricians and plebeians were terminated for ever.

In A.U.C. 419† news was brought to Rome that Alexander, King of Epirus, the uncle of Alexander the Great, had landed an army in Italy for the purpose of assisting the Tarentines, and had defeated the Samnites,

\* B.C. 339, A.U.C. 415.

† B.C. 335.

and Lucanians. Notwithstanding their truce with the Samnites, the Romans made a treaty with Alexander ; and, three years afterwards, when the Volscian town of Fabrateria sent to ask protection against the Samnites, they complied with their request. In A.U.C. 425\* they made an encroachment upon the territory of the Samnites by settling a Roman colony at Fregellæ, which now belonged to the Samnites, having been taken by them from the Volscians.

A Roman colony was a garrison sent to occupy some town already built. The colonists received each an allotment of land, all the magistrates were chosen from amongst them, and governed the old native as well as the new Roman population. They still retained all their rights as citizens of Rome ; and if ever any one of them returned to Rome, he again enjoyed all his political rights and privileges.

Meanwhile the towns of Privernum and Fundi revolted but were speedily subdued, and the Privernatians, in order to detach them from the Samnites, were made Roman citizens. Ten years subsequently, when two new tribes were added, they were incorporated in one of them.

The same year in which the Roman colony was settled at Fregellæ, the citizens of Palæopolis and Neapolis made an inroad into Campania, in which many Romans were settled. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to demand satisfaction, which the Greek towns refused, and the Samnites garrisoned them with six thousand men. The Romans therefore, blockaded them both. The next year Palæopolis was taken, and destroyed, and Neapolis surrendered on favourable conditions.

A Roman army, commanded by a dictator, L. Papirius Cursor, now marched into Apulia ; but when the auspices were taken, their meaning was found to be not sufficiently clear. In order, therefore, to repeat them, it was necessary for the dictator to return to Rome. In his absence, he strictly enjoined his master of the horse, Q.

\* B.C. 329.

Fabius Rullianus, not to attack the enemy. Fabius disobeyed orders, and gained a splendid victory, twenty thousand Samnites, it is said, having fallen.\* Papirius, on his return, had it not been for the opposition of the army, would have treated Fabius with all the severity of Roman discipline; and it was only in compliance with the earnest prayers and entreaties of the people that the dictator was prevailed upon to grant his life.

Papirius now, by kindness and attention to their welfare, sought to recover the affections of his soldiers which his severity had almost alienated. Another decisive battle was fought, and a truce was granted to the Samnites for one year. It is uncertain whether this truce expired, or was broken, but in the ensuing campaign the Samnites were again signally defeated, and compelled to sue for peace. The senate would not grant it, unless they would submit unconditionally to the power of Rome. These proud demands broke off the negotiation, and in A.U.C. 432,† after a short campaign in Apulia, a Roman army, under the consuls T. Veturius and Sp. Postumius, marched into the heart of the Samnian mountains.

In their way through the narrow defile of Caudium, the modern valley of Arpaia, on the road between Naples and Benevento, they found themselves completely surrounded by the enemy. The battle was most bloody, and at last the Romans surrendered, after losing half their army. Pontius, who commanded the Samnites, was a noble-hearted and generous man, and most moderate in his demands. He asked only peace and alliance on equal terms, the restoration of the Samnite towns, and the withdrawal of the Roman colonies. The consuls in the name of the Roman people, accepted the conditions, took an oath to abide by them, and delivered up six hundred knights as hostages.

Stripped of their arms, and naked to the waist, the humbled army passed under the yoke, and returned home disgraced and dishonoured. The soldiers dared

\* B.C. 326, A.U.C. 428.

† B.C. 321.

not look their countrymen in the face, the consuls were forbidden to act. Throughout Rome there was nothing but sadness and shame, and all classes clad themselves in mourning.

Regardless of international faith, the senate refused to ratify the terms of the treaty, and, instead of doing so, delivered the consuls and officers as guilty men into the hands of the Samnite general. Pontius refused to receive them. "It is," he said, "a mockery of the sanctity of oaths, an evasion unworthy of children. If the Roman people disapprove of the peace, let the legions be put again in the power of the conquerors: lictor, unbind these Romans, and let them depart inviolate to their camp."

It was in their way to relieve the town of Luceria in Apulia, which was besieged by the Samnites, that the Roman army had been led into the fatal defile of Caudium. The siege of this place, as it appears, was brought to a successful termination; for we are told that the following year L. Papirius Cursor, the consul, retook Luceria, and rescued the six hundred Roman hostages. The years A.U.C. 435 and 437\* were years of truce; and for some years the emergency of the times seems to have required that Rome should be subject to the absolute sway of dictators. The seat of war was now Apulia, and was afterwards transferred to Campania. Various engagements took place with the Samnites. In all these, with the exception of one fought at Lautulæ, in which the dictator Q. Fabius was defeated, the Romans were victorious, and at length, in A.U.C. 442,† the consul Valerius conquered the town of Sora, which had revolted to the Samnites, and two hundred and twenty-five of its citizens were led captive to Rome, and there put to death.

Capua, also, and other Campanian towns appear to have taken advantage of the difficulties with which Rome was struggling, and to have revolted to the Samnites; but a decisive battle, which was fought A.U.C.

\* B.C. 318, 317.

† B.C. 312.



451,\* in the neighbourhood of Beneventum, reduced them to submission, and Capua was forgiven its treason, and again became an ally of Rome.

The imperial city, now fast becoming the capital of Italy, endeavoured to give stability to her conquests, and to extend her dominion, by planting colonies or garrisons in the towns of Luceria, Suessa Aurunca, Interamna, and Casinum, and in Pontia, the largest of a cluster of small islands close to the shore.

The Romans had as yet no pretensions to be considered a naval power: their fleet was probably at this time contemptibly small; and in A.U.C. 443† we find mention made of it for the first time. In that year, on the motion of M. Decius, tribune of the commons, two commissioners were appointed for equipping and repairing it. The probability is, that it consisted only of a few vessels for the protection of their coasting trade from piracy.

In A.U.C. 443, the truce for forty years which had been made with the Tarquinians expired, and Rome had another enemy to contend with besides the Samnites. An Etruscan army besieged Sutrium, the nearest Roman frontier town. Q. Æmilius Barbula, the consul, marched to its relief, and a battle was fought, in which neither side could claim the victory. The next year, Q. Fabius Maximus gained so decisive a victory over the Etruscans, that it is said that sixty thousand were either slain or taken prisoners. He then crossed the Ciminian Hills, the modern mountains of Viterbo, now a bleak and barren ridge, but then covered with a thick forest, and again defeated them near Sutrium. This victory is remarkable as illustrating a very favourite part of Roman military tactics. The battle was won by the Romans allowing their troops to fight to the last moment, and then bringing up a strong reserve to their support. A triumph was decreed to Fabius, and a truce was granted to the Etruscans.

Whilst Q. Æmilius was engaged in Etruria, his col-

\* B.C. 313.

† B.C. 311.



league, C. Junius Bubulcus, was carrying on a successful war during the winter in Apulia, and during the following summer in Samnium. But the ensuing year his successor in the consulship, C. Marcius Rutilus, was signally defeated.\* Accordingly, L. Papirius Cursor was appointed dictator, and sent with an army to the relief of Marcius.

The Samnite army consisted of two divisions; one with gilded shields and surcoats of varied colours, the other clad in white with silver shields. Both had tall plumes which added to the appearance of their stature. The Romans too well knew in what the terrors of war consisted to care for this display. The Samnites were put to flight, and the splendid arms which were intended to alarm their foe, only served to add brilliance to the pomp of their consul's triumph. Their glittering shields were afterwards used to adorn the workshops of the goldsmiths at Rome, and the Campanians in mockery accoutred their gladiators in similar armour, and called them Samnites.

The vigour with which the Samnites maintained their struggle against the power of Rome tempted other nations to follow their example. The Maricans, Pelig-nians, Umbrians, Hernicans, and Æquians, and even the distant Sallentines in the very extremity of Italy, each in their turn declared war and were rapidly reduced to submission. No fewer than forty-one Æquian towns were conquered within the short space of fifty days, and thus Rome became paramount in Italy.

Whilst the Romans were resting after these twenty years of continual warfare, a horde of Gauls poured down through Etruria into the territory of Rome. The Romans, weakened perhaps by their long-protracted struggles, unresistingly permitted these formidable barbarians to plunder and lay waste their fields, and to depart in safety, laden with a rich booty; but when they were gone they retaliated upon the Etruscans, at whose instigation the Gauls had proceeded onward to the territory of Rome.

\* B.C. 310, A.U.C. 444.

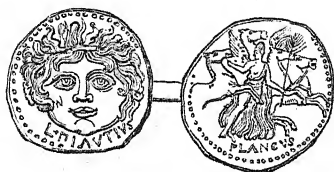
## CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICAL STATE OF ROME—CENSORSHIP OF APPIUS CLAUDIUS THE BLIND—HIS POLICY—THE FLAVIAN CALENDAR—OGULNIAN LAW—VALERIAN LAW OF APPEAL—THIRD SAMNITE WAR—SELF-DEVOTION OF DECIVS MUS—LAST CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SAMNITES—EXECUTION OF PONTIUS—PEACE CONCLUDED—PESTILENCE AND FAMINE—AGRARIAN LAW OF CURIUS DENTATUS—SECESSION TO THE JANICULUM—THURII ATTACKED AND RELIEVED—ARRETIVM BESIEGED BY THE GAULS—SENONES AND BOII DEFEATED—THE TARENTINES INSULT THE ROMAN AMBASSADOR—PYRRHUS LANDS IN ITALY—DEFEATS THE ROMANS AT THE RIVER SIRIS—FABRICIVS—THE BATTLE OF ASCULUM—PYRRHUS RETIRES TO SICILY—RETURNS, AND IS DEFEATED BY CURIUS DENTATUS—HIS DEATH—SUBMISSION OF SAMNIUM, ETC.—EFFECTS OF THE SPOILS OF TARENTUM ON THE SIMPLICITY OF ROMAN MANNERS—FIRST SILVER COINAGE—LIVIVS ANDRONICUS—GLADIATORIAL SHOWS.

SUCH were the various and successful struggles of the Roman arms against the natives of Italy, which occupied this eventful but obscure period of history. The occurrences at home were equally important. The strong line of demarcation between patricians and plebeians was, as has been already stated, obliterated for ever, and political parties now wore a totally different form. Many of the great patrician families had become extinct, and a plebeian nobility had gradually risen up since the Licinian bills passed, and had now become as numerous as that of the patricians. This equality rendered the rivalry between the patrician and plebeian nobles more bitter and rancorous, and Appius Claudius the Blind, and some other patricians, attempted to depress the plebeian order, by leaguering themselves with the order below them.

A plebeian was a land-holder and well born; that is, his father and grandfather must have been born free; but a freedman or the son of a freedman could have no such pedigree, and therefore, could not be en-

rolled in the tribes. Single instances of exception may have occurred, but they were probably very rare.



A PLAUTIAN COIN.

In A.U.C. 442,\* Appius was elected censor, together with C. Plautius, and one of his duties was to fill up the vacancies in the senate, and to revise the rolls of the tribes. His colleague, Plautius, appears to have disapproved of his policy, and to have resigned his office. Appius, therefore, was alone. He then proceeded to enrol in the tribes the whole body of the freedmen. In the senate, the long continuance of war, and a pestilence which had raged in Rome during the preceding year, had made many vacancies, and Appius passed over some of those distinguished plebeians who had since the last census filled curule offices, and who, therefore, ought to have been admitted into the senate, and raised sons of freedmen to the rank of senators. These, together with the freedmen in the tribes, became creatures of Appius and his party, and were used as instruments to advance their power.

Thus reinforced by a numerous party, and, moreover, intrusted as censor with the charge of the public revenues and financial administration, Appius commenced a number of magnificent public works. The great Appian road, which afterwards extended from Rome to Brundisium, was begun, and the first of those beautiful aqueducts, which were the greatest blessings Rome enjoyed was constructed.

At this period slavery, in cases of debt, was abolished, and the debtor only pledged his property; but

\* B.C. 312.

still public credit was no less protected, for the insolvent, in addition to the loss of his property, was declared infamous, and lost for ever all political privileges.

Another important privilege was secured to the lower orders at this epoch. All the business of accounts and records in the public offices was transacted by a body of men, who formed a guild or company called scribes or clerks. Every magistrate and most of the higher class of Romans employed one as a secretary. Cn. Flavius, one of this intelligent class, was secretary to Appius, and at Appius's suggestion he set up a calendar in the Forum, which showed the dies fasti and the dies nefasti, as they were termed—that is, the days on which legal business could or could not be transacted. Hitherto this knowledge had been in the possession of the pontiffs alone, and was rigidly kept from the people. The calendar of Flavius of course struck a heavy blow at the influence of the nobles, because until then they had the power of obstructing all legal business at their pleasure; and the author of it became so popular, that, though a clerk and one of a despised class, he was, notwithstanding all opposition, elected curule ædile.

The year A.U.C. 454\* was signalized by the passing of the Ogulnian law, which increased the number of the pontiffs from four to eight, and that of the augurs from four to nine, and enacted that four pontiffs and five augurs should be plebeians. The ninth or supreme pontiff might be chosen from either order. This was not a mere empty distinction, but an admission of patrician and plebeian into a religious as well as political equality, and to the guardianship of the laws, both religious and civil. The same year also, M. Valerius carried the law of appeal from the sentence of a magistrate to the people. Three times had this law been carried, and always by a member of the same popular family. Probably its re-enactment was necessary, from wealth and power having often found means

\* B.C. 300.

of evading its sanctions. In the ensuing year the number of tribes was increased to thirty-one, by the addition of the Aniensian and Tarentine, which were formed principally out of the vanquished Æquians. The upper part of the river Anio, and, perhaps, the ancient name of the river now called the Turano, which flows through the Æquian territory, probably gave the names to these new tribes.

In A.U.C. 456,\* war again broke out with the Samnites, the Etruscans having also violated the truce the year before, and having purchased an alliance with a Gallic horde which had invaded their territories. The consuls for the year were L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, great-grandfather of the conqueror of Hannibal, and Cn. Fulvius; the latter conquered the Samnites, the former was successful in a battle with the Etruscans, and captured their camp.

The Romans no longer made Apulia the seat of war, as they had done in the former war, but, in A.U.C. 457,† carried fire and sword into the very heart of Samnium, under the command of Q. Fabius and P. Decius Mus, the consuls.

In A.U.C. 458,‡ the consular army of Appius Claudius was in Etruria, that of his colleague, Volumnius, in Samnium. The Samnite general, Gellius Egnatius, boldly determined to join forces with their Etruscan allies; and taking advantage of a favourable opportunity, marched through Umbria, and crossed the Tiber into Etruria. This movement rendered a junction of the consular armies necessary. But Appius considered the arrival of Volumnius an interference, and had it not been for the entreaties of his army, he would have willingly returned to Samnium.

Soon after the arrival of Volumnius, the Samnites invaded Campania, whither Volumnius followed them, and drove them back to Samnium. On their march he overtook them, and, having defeated them, recovered a great part of the spoils of Campania. The next year,§

\* B.C. 298. † B.C. 297. ‡ B.C. 296. § A.U.C. 459, B.C. 295.

Fabius and Decius were again elected consuls. Both armies now gradually drew off, by some easy passes of the Apennines, towards Sentinum, and there the allied forces of the enemy met the Romans. The Samnites and Etruscans were opposed to Fabius and the Roman right wing, the Gauls to Decius and the Roman left.

A charge from the Roman cavalry on the left began the battle; but they were driven back in consequence of a panic caused by the war chariots of the Gauls, and threw the infantry into confusion. Decius tried to rally them in vain; and at length, following the example of his heroic father, he devoted himself to the manes, rushed into the thickest of the fight, and fell. Although the Romans recovered their spirits, they could not break the thick phalanx of the Gauls; but Fabius, having succeeded in putting the Samnites to flight, sent the Campanian cavalry to charge the Gauls in the rear. The battle was long and bloody, but the brave enemy would not fly until they saw G. Egnatius slain. The Romans are said to have lost eight thousand two hundred men; the enemy, twenty-five thousand.

This battle decided the fate of Italy; and so glorious was it, that it is said that the fame of it even reached Greece. There can be no doubt that the campaign which it terminated was the most important of any up to this period of Roman history. Only five thousand men out of the vast Samnite army returned safe to their own country, and the consuls of the year A.U.C. 461,\* L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Carvilius Maximus, were ordered to crush them completely by an invasion.

The Samnites collected a fresh force, and bound themselves by a solemn oath to conquer or to die. The armies met; the Romans were full of ardour, hope, and anger, and thirsting for the blood of their foes; the Samnites were urged on by necessity, and by the awful oaths which bound them. Complete success attended the Roman arms; both consuls returned to Rome in triumph, and brought vast treasures with them.

\* B.C. 293.



The last campaign was under the command of Q. Fabius Gurgus, who was consul in A.U.C. 462.\* The noble-hearted Pontius was again the leader of the Samnite legions. At first the old warrior defeated the Roman general, and the senate, angry at this disaster, wished to recall him; but his father, the great Fabius, besought them to send him as lieutenant to his son. The senate granted his request, and he gained so decisive a victory, that twenty thousand were slain, and C. Pontius was sent to Rome a prisoner. Ill did the revengeful people requite their generous foe. He had spared many Roman lives, they would not spare one. A dungeon and the axe were his reward. In A.U.C. 464,† the war was brought to a close, for the consuls, P. Cornelius Rufinus, and M. Curius Dentatus, invaded Samnium, and met with no resistance. The Samnites now submitted to the Roman power; peace was concluded the following year, and twenty thousand colonists were settled at the frontier town of Venusia, which was afterwards distinguished as the birthplace of Horace.

During this struggle, war, and three years of pestilence,‡ a pestilence which had ravaged Greece also, had caused great distress at Rome. Famine, too, had visited them, in consequence of the devastation of Campania, which had been so long the seat of war. Hence, although little is known of this obscure period, owing to the loss of this portion of the histories of Livy and Diodorus, it is certain that great popular disturbances occurred, probably on account of the exactions of the rich, and the insolvency of the poor. Curius Dentatus espoused the cause of the people (for this term, says Niebuhr, must now be used, the division of orders being no longer accurately represented by the words patrician and plebeian), and proposed to distribute to every citizen, the freedmen amongst the number, seven jugera of land. His measures met with deter-

\* B.C. 292.

† B.C. 290.

‡ B.C. 293, 292, 291; A.U.C. 461, 462, 463.



mined opposition from the rich and noble, both patricians and plebeians; nevertheless, the bill passed, and popular discontent rose to such a pitch, that the lower orders seceded to the Janiculum, just as the plebeians had in former days to Mons Sacer.

At this crisis, Q. Hortensius, a member of a distinguished plebeian house, was appointed dictator. Through his influence they returned, and he then passed certain laws for the relief of the poorer citizens, which were called by his name, and one which secured to the tribes legislative power by depriving the senate of its veto. At this time, also, another accession of power was secured to the people by the Mævian law, which compelled the senate to give their assent beforehand, in electing the curule magistrates.

The year A.U.C. 461\* was the nineteenth lustrum, or period of five years, at which interval the census was taken. There had been during this period twenty-six censors, and the number of citizens registered on this occasion was two hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and twenty-two. The next censorship was that of Curius Dentatus; and in it he drained, by means of a canal, the lake Velinus, and thus formed the falls of Terni, the most beautiful in Europe. A bridge, which is his work, spans the stream, built in the old Pelasgian style, of huge blocks of stone; a monument of his name, which has now lasted for more than twenty centuries.

In the years A.U.C. 468, and A.U.C. 469,† the Lucanians attacked Thurii, a Greek city, and laid waste its territory, and the inhabitants implored aid of the Romans; owing to their intestine troubles, this help was long delayed, but, at length, in A.U.C. 472,‡ C. Ælius, a tribune, carried a motion for granting it, and an army was sent to Thurii. The grateful people voted Ælius, in return, a statue and a crown of gold.

At this period the Etruscans seem to have been in a

\* B.C. 293.

† B.C. 286, 287.

‡ B.C. 282.

state of division. The town of Arretium (Arrezzo) was on the side of Rome; but the Etruscan party opposed to Rome had called in the aid of the Senonian Gauls, and laid siege to Arretium.\* L. Cæcilius Metellus marched to its relief, but was defeated, and himself, together with eleven thousand Romans, perished. Curius Dentatus was sent to succeed him, and ambassadors were despatched to treat for the restoration of the prisoners; but the Senonians violated the law of nations by the murder of the ambassadors. In revenge, the consul laid waste their country, and put the inhabitants to the sword: the army returned to defend it, but he defeated them, and thus destroyed the whole nation. Another tribe of Gauls, the Boians, now joined the Etruscans, but the consul defeated them also at the lake Vadimo: they made but one more unsuccessful attempt the following year, A.U.C. 472,† and then returned home.

In the south the Tarentines had formed a league with the Lucanians, Samnites, and Bruttians against Rome; and Fabricius Luscinus, a Roman famed for his incorruptible honesty, gained several victories, entirely relieved Thurii from their presence, broke up the southern league, and returned with great treasure to Rome. The Thurians erected a statue to him, as they had before to Ælius.

The designs of the Tarentines were now manifest to the Romans, and they accordingly sent ten triremes, under L. Valerius, a naval commissioner (*duumvir navalis*), to watch their movements. When the fleet arrived off the harbour of Tarentum, the whole people were assembled in the theatre which overlooked the sea. Urged by a demagogue, named Philocharis, the people rushed down to the harbour *en masse*, manned their galleys, and as the Romans were taken by surprise, dispersed the Roman fleet and killed Valerius. They followed up this blow by attacking, plundering, and taking possession of Thurii, and expelling the

\* B.C. 283, A.U.C. 471.

† B.C. 282.

Roman garrison which had been left there by Fabricius. The Romans immediately sent L. Postumius, with an embassy, to demand reparation, but the mob derided and insulted the ambassador; they laughed at his foreign accent, and called him, as the Greeks called all foreigners, a barbarian. A drunken buffoon even dared to pelt his white toga with dirt. At this outrage offered to the law of nations, Postumius could restrain his indignation no longer, but, holding up his robe, exclaimed,—“Tarentines, nothing but your blood can wash out this stain !”

On his return to Rome \* war was declared, and L. Æmilius Barbula invaded and ravaged the Tarentine territory. Two parties now divided Tarentum; the aristocratical, or peace party, were for an alliance with Rome; the populace, or war party, were in favour of negotiating for the assistance of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. The latter prevailed, and Pyrrhus, the greatest Greek general of his age, whose whole mind was engrossed with admiration of the exploits of his illustrious predecessor Alexander, whose favourite study was the art of war and of winning battles, and who thought war the greatest happiness in life, eagerly accepted their proposals.

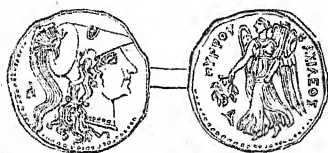
Without any hesitation he sent over Cineas with three thousand men, who was put in possession of the fortress, and in the winter of A.U.C. 473,† Pyrrhus himself arrived. His force consisted of twenty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, besides fifty or sixty elephants. In the tempests which he met with on his passage round the “ill-famed rocks of Acroceraunia,” he probably lost some of these, but with the greater part of them he arrived safe in the harbour of Tarentum. The Tarentines at first murmured at the strictness of his discipline; but it was in vain, for he was, by their own voluntary act, master of their citadel.

One consular army was probably engaged in Etruria,

\* B.C. 281, A.U.C. 473.

† B.C. 281.

the other, under the command of P. Valerius Lævinus, was sent to oppose Pyrrhus. It consisted of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand six hundred horse.



A COIN OF PYRRHUS.

Pyrrhus, seeing his inferiority in point of numbers, wished to gain time, and offered to mediate between Rome and Tarentum, but his offer was contemptuously refused.

The armies met, with the river Siris between them, near Heraclea. A trial was now to take place between Latin and Greek military tactics, for the two most warlike nations of antiquity were now about to measure their swords for the first time, and contend for the championship of the world. The military reputation of Greece was still untarnished ; for, since the death of their great conqueror, only half a century had passed away, and the result of his victories was still manifest in the wide extent of territory ruled over by his successors. The Romans were drawn up in their usual manner, in long-extended lines ; the enemy in the Macedonian phalanx of sixteen deep. It was the first time the Romans had seen the phalanx, and besides this, the Thessalian cavalry was far superior to theirs. The Romans forded the Siris and began the battle : seven times they were repulsed, and the cavalry of Pyrrhus did great execution. Moreover, the elephants, which seemed to their unaccustomed eyes like huge living castles filled with armed men, frightened the Roman horse ; victory declared against the Romans, they retreated across the river, and their camp was taken.

Pyrrhus then marched for Rome, stormed Fregellæ, took the citadel of Præneste, and advancing six miles

further, encamped within eighteen miles from Rome. He had sent Cineas before him, to negotiate a peace. It is said that the memory of this man was so powerful, that in one day he was able to address all the senators and knights by name. When he made the king's proposals to the senate, the aged Appius Claudius, now blind, was borne in upon a litter, and opposed him with such energy that the senate voted that no peace should be made, until Pyrrhus had evacuated Italy.

At this juncture, the Etruscans happily made peace with Rome; and Pyrrhus, fearing two united armies, retreated to Campania. Whilst there, the famous embassy was sent to him, of which Fabricius was the head. His simple, even poor, attire, amazed the king, and still more his incorruptible virtue. He tried to bribe him, but in vain; he caused a curtain suddenly to be withdrawn, and exhibited a huge elephant, which waved its snake-like trunk over the Roman's head, but this did not intimidate him. The object of the embassy was the ransom of the prisoners. This Pyrrhus refused; but the result of it was an exhibition of generosity on one side, and of truthfulness on the other. Pyrrhus permitted the prisoners to return to Rome on parole, to celebrate the Saturnalia, and they, to a man, faithfully came back when the festival was over.

In the year A.U.C. 475,\* a battle was fought at Asculum in Apulia, in which the superior skill of Pyrrhus and weight of the Macedonian phalanx proved again irresistible. Although the result was by no means decisive, for the Romans retreated in order to their camp, still the loss was nearly double on their side, but as the Roman camp was fortified Pyrrhus retired to Tarentum. His inactivity during the rest of the year was perhaps owing to an alliance which was now made between the Romans and Carthaginians. A Carthaginian fleet sailed to Ostia to offer assistance, but its aid was declined. Its commander then endeavoured to act as mediator, but in this also he was unsuccessful.

\* B.C. 279.

' After all, the nobleness of the Roman character brought about a peace. Pyrrhus's physican offered to poison him, but the Romans indignantly informed the king of his treason. The noble-minded Pyrrhus, not to be outdone in generosity, sent back all his prisoners with presents to Rome, and renewed his negotiations for peace. But as the Romans still refused, unless he would quit Italy, he crossed over into Sicily,\* attended by a Syracusan fleet.

Pyrrhus remained in Sicily two years, and then, at the request of his Italian allies, returned to Italy.† On his voyage he was attacked by a Carthaginian fleet and lost seventy ships, but his army when he arrived at Tarentum, was almost as numerous as it had been originally.

M. Curius Dentatus, who had already gained two brilliant victories, was now consul for the second time.‡ He encamped near Beneventum, and awaited the approach of Pyrrhus, having sent to his colleague Lentulus, who was in Lucania, to join him. Pyrrhus attempted a night attack, but, missing his way, did not arrive until morning. The Romans marched out to meet him, and during the engagement, a wounded elephant caused such disorder, that Pyrrhus was worsted and eight elephants were taken. This led to a total defeat, and Pyrrhus retreated on Tarentum, where he left Milo in command of the garrison, and crossed over to Epirus with the wreck of his army. He was killed some years afterwards, in the city of Argos, by a tile, which was thrown on his head by a woman.

This was a great era in Roman warfare, and doubtless the report which the defeated Greeks carried back with them across the Ionian sea, added to the prestige in favour of the Roman arms. The long lance was proved to be inferior to the short sword and the stout pike, and the phalanx was shown to be no longer invincible. The Epirot monarch discovered, by hard experience, the truth

\* B.C. 278, A.U.C. 476.

† B.C. 276, A.U.C. 478.

‡ B.C. 275, A.U.C. 479.



of what he had surmised at his first glance of the army of his enemies, that the tactics of the barbarians were by no means barbarous.

The spoils which adorned the triumph of Curius Dentatus, were the most splendid that had ever been seen at Rome. The troops were armed and the royal camp was furnished, with the magnificence of a monarch of a country eminent for skill in art and manufacture, and which now enjoyed the wealth of all the world, as if it were its produce, and the camp furniture of Pyrrhus was rich in plate, and carved work, and embroidered stuffs, and carpets. All these were for the first time exhibited to the admiring eyes of the rude and simple Romans, and perhaps helped to excite that covetousness which afterwards was glutted with the spoils of the world.

Hurrah ! for the great triumph  
 That stretches many a mile,  
 Hurrah ! for the rich dye of Tyre,  
 And the fine web of the Nile ;  
 The helmets gay with plumage  
 Torn from the pheasants' wings,  
 The belts set thick with starry gems  
 That shone on Indian kings ;  
 The arms of massive silver,  
 The goblets rough with gold,  
 The many-coloured tablets bright  
 With loves and wars of old ;  
 The stone that breathes and struggles,  
 The brass that seems to speak,  
 Such cunning they who dwell on high  
 Have given unto the Greek.—MACAULAY.

In A.U.C. 482,\* Samnium finally submitted to Sp. Carvilius, and the Lucanians and Bruttians to L. Papirius Cursor the younger ; the league which had subsisted between them was broken for ever ; the Bruttians gave up half their forests, a surrender of the greatest importance to the Romans for the building of their fleet. The same year, Milo deceived the Tarentines into the belief that he would procure a peace, and, taking advantage of the confidence which they reposed in him, opened the

\* B.C. 272.



gates of the citadel to the Romans. The walls of their city were levelled to the ground, and its treasures, which were very great, conveyed to Rome. Silver consequently became so much more abundant than it had been previously, that a silver coinage was introduced.\*

This accession of wealth, added to the spoils of Pyrrhus, is generally supposed to have first given the Romans a taste for luxuries, and corrupted their ancient simplicity. Up to this time their mode of living was frugal in the extreme. Although they had fine public buildings, their private dwellings were of the humblest kind. Fabricius, when censor, degraded a senator from his rank for having ten pounds of silver plate, and there is a legend that some Samnite ambassadors were sent with gold to bribe Curius, and found him at his domestic hearth, with some roots, on a trencher, which he was roasting. Amongst the prisoners of war taken at Tarentum, is said to have been the first Roman dramatist, Livius Andronicus. If this tradition is true, to counterbalance the evils of luxury, they gained at least an insight into the blessings of literature.

All the nations of Italy now, one after another, submitted, and Rome thus became, in ten years, the lord-paramount, and drew from thence a revenue which added greatly to the national resources. For the collection and management of this revenue, the number of questors was increased from four to eight. The relation which each of these allies was to bear to Rome was definitely settled, and they were admitted to serve in the army, the Romans finding provisions, and their own nation furnishing pay. It is worthy of remark, that in A.U.C. 490,† the first show of gladiators disgraced Rome, having been exhibited by the sons of D. Junius Brutus, as a human sacrifice to the manes of their father.

\* B.C. 269, A.U.C. 485.

† B.C. 264.

## CHAPTER IX.

ORIGIN AND CONSTITUTION OF CARTHAGE—FIRST PUNIC WAR—THE CARTHAGINIANS ASSIST THE MAMERTINES—INTERFERENCE OF THE ROMANS—WAR WITH HIERO AND THE CARTHAGINIANS—TAKING OF AGRIGENTUM—THE ROMANS BUILD A FLEET—CONTRIVANCE OF DULIUS—THE ROMANS RAVAGE THE COAST OF AFRICA—DEFEAT OF REGULUS—THE WAR TRANSFERRED TO SICILY—VICTORY AND TRIUMPH OF CÆCILIUS METELLUS—EMBASSY AND DEATH OF REGULUS—SIEGE OF LILYBÆUM—ADHERBAL CONQUERS P. CLAUDIUS—FATAL TEMPEST—IMPEACHMENT OF CLAUDIUS—ARRIVAL OF HAMILCAR IN SICILY—NEW FLEET EQUIPPED—END OF FIRST PUNIC WAR—DISASTROUS EFFECTS OF THE WAR—DEPRECIATION OF THE COINAGE—DECREASE OF POPULATION—SICILY THE FIRST ROMAN PROVINCE.

THE Carthaginians were a commercial aristocratic nation, somewhat resembling the Venetians of more modern times. They were governed by two magistrates, who were elected from a certain number of privileged families, and the price which they paid for the office confined it to rich men. These magistrates were called Suffetes, the same word which in Scripture History is translated "Judges." There was also a large house of representatives, out of whom a council of one hundred elders was chosen for life. This council of elders, subdivided for convenience's sake into boards of five members each, constituted the executive of the state. The Carthaginians were originally a colony from Phœnicia, and inherited all the enterprising and mercantile spirit of their ancestors. Absorbed in the peaceful pursuit of wealth, they were not a fighting people: their towns were unfortified, their armies consisted of mercenaries from Gaul, Spain, Numidia, and other parts of Africa, and were only officered by Carthaginians. Notwithstanding these military disadvantages, they were masters of almost the whole of Sicily, the only powers independent of them being Hiero, king of Syracuse, and the Mamertines, a set of banditti, who occupied Messana. With this republic

Rome had come in contact before this; they were now destined to find it a bitter rival and formidable enemy.

Hiero, in order to stop the aggressions of the Mamertine robbers, sent an army against them and defeated them :\* upon which a Carthaginian fleet which happened to be cruising off the coast came to their aid, their real object being to get possession of the citadel of Messana. The Mamertines were divided into two parties, one in favour of an alliance with Rome, the other with Carthage. The majority, however, preferred Rome to Carthage, and sent delegates to the senate to beg for aid against Hiero. The senate refused to grant their prayer, but the consuls referred the matter to the people assembled in their tribes. The lust of conquest, the wealth of Carthage, and the fertile fields of Sicily, were too strong a temptation to the unscrupulous Romans, and they voted an alliance with the Mamertines.

Caius Claudius, as legate for the consul A. Claudius, was accordingly sent to Messana. When he arrived, he found the Carthaginians, through the influence of their friends, in possession of the citadel. He therefore called upon them to surrender, and returned to the army. For some time the Carthaginian guard-ships prevented the Romans from effecting a passage to Sicily; but at length they succeeded, and Hanno, the commander of the garrison, being invited to a conference, was treacherously seized and compelled to evacuate Messana. His countrymen at home, with their usual severity, condemned him to be crucified, and sent out a successor of the same name.

Hiero, upon this violation of international law by the Romans, united his forces with those of Carthage, and both invested Messana, the one on the north, the other on the south. At this conjuncture, the consul A. Claudius landed with his army. He first attacked Hiero, and after a hard-fought battle defeated him, and caused him to retreat to his capital. He then marched against the Carthaginians, with similar success, ravaged

\* A.U.C. 490, B.C. 231.

and plundered the country, and laid siege to Syracuse. But he found the fevers and malaria of autumn worse enemies to cope with than Hiero and the Carthaginians, and therefore placed a garrison in Messana, and returned to Rome.

The next year\* the consuls M. Otacilius and M. Valerius crossed over to Sicily with thirty-five thousand men. It was impossible to resist this overwhelming force. Sixty-seven towns surrendered, and Hiero purchased peace by the cession of great part of his territories, the restoration of the Roman prisoners, and the payment of one hundred talents. The Carthaginian influence in Sicily now began to decline rapidly; Agrigentum (Girgenti) was besieged and taken,† and it was only on the coast that, by means of a formidable fleet, Carthage was able to maintain her power.

The enterprising Romans now determined to protect their newly-acquired dominions by the same means, and to attack their enemy by sea, but they had no ships of war, and did not know how to build them. Fortunately a Carthaginian quinquereme was cast ashore, and furnished a model. Timber was immediately felled in the forests of the Apennines, and in two months a fleet of a hundred ships was built, and the sailors to man them were drilled and practised.

It is plain that in a naval contest between two squadrons of unequal skill and experience, the inferior has the best chance, not in manœuvring, but in fighting hand to hand; in fact, in the battle resembling as nearly as possible an engagement by land. The tactics, therefore, for the Romans to make use of were, to board the enemies' ships. C. Duilius, one of the consuls,‡ saw this, and his colleague Cn. Cornelius Scipio having been defeated off the Lipari islands, and himself and his squadron captured, he invented a plan by which he could be more on a par with his more skilful enemies.

At the prow of each ship, he erected a mast, to which

\* B.C. 263, A.U.C. 491.

† B.C. 262, A.U.C. 494.

‡ B.C. 260, A.U.C. 494.

was attached by ropes and pulleys a platform or draw-bridge. When the enemies' ship rowed within reach, the platform was lowered, and a grappling iron at the end of it held the ships fast together, so that the soldiers could board. This plan proved completely successful. Duilius engaged the Carthaginian fleet off Mylæ (Melazzo), under the command of Hannibal, and gained a decisive victory. Fifty ships were either taken or disabled, three thousand men were killed, and seven thousand taken prisoners. A triumph was decreed to Duilius, a column erected in the forum to his honour, and the Romans were inspired with that confidence which laid the foundation for their subsequent success.

Three years afterwards,\* a triumph was granted to the consul, C. Atilius, for a naval victory off the Lipari islands. Emboldened by these conquests, the Romans determined, the following year,† to invade Africa. Three hundred and thirty quinqueremes were got ready, each manned with three hundred sailors and a hundred and twenty marines, and sailed under the command of the consuls, L. Manlius Vulso and M. Atilius Regulus. The Carthaginian fleet, under Hanno and Hamilcar, consisted of three hundred and fifty ships, manned by a hundred and fifty thousand men. They met off Ecnomus, near Agrigentum; and, after a hard-fought battle, the Romans were again victorious, though they suffered great loss. Thirty Carthaginian ships were destroyed, and sixty-four were taken.

The consuls now sailed for Africa, notwithstanding the fears and unwillingness of the soldiers. They landed, and took up their quarters at Clypea. The face of the country was beautiful: instead of gloomy forests, inhabited by beasts of prey, and scorching deserts, infested by savage and unheard-of monsters, which tradition had taught them to expect, they found rich and smiling fields, vineyards, olive-grounds, and gardens, dotted with the palaces of the merchant-nobles of Carthage.

Of this peaceful scene their ravages soon made a

\* B.C. 257, A.U.C. 497.

† B.C. 256, A.U.C. 498.

desert, and their devastations were only interrupted for a short time by the arrival of a message from Rome, recalling one consul, together with one division of the army. Manlius accordingly returned, with vast plunder, and twenty-seven thousand prisoners, and Regulus remained with fifteen thousand men. The work of havoc then recommenced. Towns and villages were taken and plundered. The Numidians joined the Romans for the sake of spoil. The houseless inhabitants of the country crowded in such numbers to the capital, that famine threatened. The very government seemed paralyzed with fear. At length three delegates from the supreme council were sent to Regulus to sue for peace.

The Roman general was a self-confident man, and he was now puffed up with the insolence of success. Accordingly, he not only proposed terms which involved the national existence of Carthage, but, when the delegates remonstrated, he drove them from his presence with arrogance and insult. The proud Carthaginians rejected the terms with scorn. At this crisis a Spartan mercenary, named Xanthippus, arrived at Carthage. His strictures on the conduct of the native generals induced the authorities to make him commander-in-chief of the forces.

With a small army of twelve thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry, and one hundred elephants, he gave battle to Regulus.\* The cavalry and elephants commenced the engagement; the Romans were almost all cut to pieces, and Regulus was taken prisoner. News was sent to Rome of his defeat, and a fleet was despatched to rescue the relics of the army. This fleet was successful in an engagement with the Carthaginians off the coast; the Romans, however, did not land, but taking their troops with them, returned to Sicily, and on their voyage home from thence they were overtaken by a storm, and almost the whole fleet wrecked and destroyed.

In order to profit by this misfortune, the Carthaginians transferred the war to Sicily. This movement the Romans endeavoured to counteract, by build-

\* B.C. 255, A.U.C. 499.



ing two hundred and twenty ships, and sending them to Messano, under the command of A. Atilius and Cn. Cornelius Scipio.\* The result of this year's campaign was, that the Carthaginians retook Agrigentum (Girgenti), and the Romans made themselves masters of Panormus (Palermo). The fleet which the dauntless perseverance of the Romans had so rapidly raised was wrecked the ensuing year off Cape Palinurus,† and a hundred and fifty vessels were lost. Discouraged, therefore, by these repeated misfortunes, they determined only to reinforce the fleet sufficiently to guard their own coasts.

In the year A.U.C. 504,‡ L. Cæcilius Metellus, who was proconsul in Sicily, was in garrison at Panormus, when Hasdrubal, after ravaging the neighbouring country, advanced against the town. In the Carthaginian army were a hundred and thirty elephants. These animals are easily terrified, and when wounded, they turn to flight and spread confusion through the ranks of their own troops. Metellus took advantage of this, and gained a complete victory. A large number of distinguished prisoners, and a hundred and four elephants, were captured and taken to Rome, to grace the triumph of the conqueror.

The Carthaginians then sent to Rome an embassy to negotiate peace and an exchange of prisoners. Regulus accompanied it, under promise of returning if it failed.§ Although he was insolent to a fallen enemy, he had the unyielding honour and self-sacrificing spirit of a Curtius or a Decius. He urged the senate to refuse their consent to a peace which he considered disadvantageous, and returned to Carthage to die. Roman legends tell that his eyelids were cut off, and, after having been



CÆCILIAN COIN.

\* B.C. 254, A.U.C. 500.

† B.C. 250.

‡ B.C. 253, A.U.C. 501.

§ B.C. 250, A.U.C. 504.

exposed to the burning sun, he was rolled down a hill in a cask, the sides of which was studded with iron spikes. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, accuse the family of Regulus of having tortured two noble hostages who had been placed in their hands.

Roman perseverance had so far prevailed, that the Carthaginians were driven out of every place in Sicily, except Drepanum and Lilybæum. The consuls, Atilius and Manlius, laid siege to the latter. They invested it by sea and land, with a fleet of two hundred ships, and a force of more than a hundred thousand men. Fortified with all the engineering skill of the day, and reinforced by ten thousand men whom Hannibal succeeded in throwing into the town, it held out long against treachery from within and the consular armies from without. A valiant sally was made, but without success. At length, taking advantage of a violent wind, which blew in the direction of their assailants' camp, the besieged threw firebrands and combustibles into it, and destroyed the works of the Romans. They were therefore obliged to turn the siege into a blockade. The Roman fleet now occupied a position near to Lilybæum, whilst the Carthaginians were stationed in Drepanum.

The next spring, \* P. Claudius Pulcher, the consul, succeeded to the command. He was the son of Ap. Claudius Cæcus, and had all the unprincipled daring which seems to have been the hereditary vice of the Claudii, from the founder of the family down to Tiberius. Immediately on his arrival, he determined to attack Adherbal, the Carthaginian admiral. He, however, was not to be taken off his guard. A battle ensued, in which the Romans occupied a position between the land and their enemies. Consequently the latter had more scope for naval manœuvres, whilst the Romans do not appear to have used their Duilian drawbridges. Adherbal was victorious; and, without the loss of a single ship, he took ninety-three Roman quinqueremes, killed eight thousand men, and took twenty thousand prisoners.

\* B.C. 242, A.U.C. 505.

A terrible storm from the south-west completed the ruin which the Carthaginians had begun. The relics of the Roman fleet, together with a large reinforcement which had arrived since, were driven on the rocky shores of Sicily, and so utterly destroyed, that not a plank was saved. The Romans now found it hopeless to endeavour to maintain naval superiority, and Carthage again enjoyed an undisputed dominion over the sea.

Claudius was now recalled;\* and the Romans, exasperated at misfortunes for which he could scarcely be considered responsible, brought him to trial for impiety; a charge which, in a time of popular excitement, it is far more easy to establish to the satisfaction of a prejudiced mob than one of incompetency. It appears that when about to commence the attack at Drepanum, the chickens which were kept for the purposes of augury would not eat. "They shall drink, then!" said Claudius; and ordered them to be thrown into the water. The trial, however, was interrupted by a storm, and nothing was done. Previously to his trial, he had been requested to name a dictator. In order to show his contempt for the people, he appointed the son of a freedman, name Glycia. The enraged people compelled so unfit a person to resign his office, and Claudius himself went into voluntary exile, where he died.

Hamilcar, surnamed Barca (a name which is the same as Barak in the Old Testament history), now came out as commander-in-chief in Sicily.† He was the father of the great Hannibal. He entrenched himself on a mountain near Panormus (M. Pelegrino), the foot of which was washed by the sea, and from this natural stronghold he made predatory incursions upon the Italian coast. For four years he carried on the war, with the advantage generally on his side.

At length,‡ by great exertions, and by subscriptions from the wealthy—the public finances being in too exhausted a state to support the expenses of the war—the

\* B.C. 248, A.U.C. 506.

† B.C. 247, A.U.C. 507.

‡ B.C. 242, A.U.C. 512.

Romans equipped another fleet of two hundred quinqueremes. As before, the Carthaginian ships, which had been captured at Lilybæum, furnished a model. The command was given to C. Lutatius, one of the consuls. On his arrival, he found that the Carthaginians had left Drepanum. Hamilcar, therefore, did not feel himself in a condition to oppose him without reinforcements from Carthage. These soon arrived, under Hanno, and a battle was fought off the island of Ægusa, in which Lutatius gained a decisive victory. Hamilcar then sued for peace.

The Roman consul at first demanded that his army should lay down their arms. This the Carthaginian general bravely refused to do; and peace was at last granted on condition that the Carthaginians evacuated Sicily, restored the prisoners, and paid two thousand two hundred talents in twenty years. This sum was afterwards increased to three thousand two hundred, and the term for payment diminished to ten years. Hamilcar then left Sicily, and the first Punic war ended, having continued nearly twenty-three years.\*

Although the war terminated favourably for the Romans, its effects were most disastrous to their national prosperity. They found that war is always a losing game, even to the conquerors. The plunder of Africa, the subsidy demanded from the vanquished, could not repair the exhaustion of their treasury. Rome was drained of its specie, and, in order to supply the deficiency, the government were driven to the foolish expedient of depreciating the coinage. The as, which at the beginning of the war, weighed twelve ounces, was, during the course of it, gradually reduced to two. Taxation ground down the greater part of the population to poverty; and consequently, instead of a considerable increase, which ought to have taken place in a period of nearly twenty-three years, we find that the number of Roman citizens decreased from nearly three hundred thousand to little more than two hundred and fifty thou-

\* B.C. 241, A.U.C. 513.

sand. This diminution of the population rendered slave labour necessary. War supplied these wretched victims ; and thus commenced that evil in Italy which afterwards increased to so fearful and ruinous an extent. The distress of the poor was, however, in some measure alleviated by a fresh distribution of lands, and political discontent prevented by enrolling some of them in two new tribes—the Quirinian and Velinian. These made the total number of tribes thirty-five, at which number they remained fixed ever after.

Sicily, almost entirely subjugated, became the first example of a Roman province. It was ruled by a governor, annually sent out from Rome. The inhabitants paid a tithe of the produce, as a rent for the occupation of the soil, and served in the Roman armies as auxiliaries. The provinces became, henceforward, a mine of wealth to the avaricious Romans, and the foundation of their fortunes to many of their richest families.

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## CHAPTER X.

DISTRESS OF CARTHAGE—HAMILCAR'S EXPEDITION INTO SPAIN—OATH OF HANNIBAL—TEMPLE OF JANUS CLOSED—THE LIGURIANS CONQUERED—WAR WITH THE ILLYRIANS—AMBASSADORS SENT TO ATHENS AND CORINTH—WAR WITH THE CISALPINE GAULS—TRIUMPH OF FLAMINIUS—M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS WINS THE SPOLIA OPIMA—ASSASSINATION OF HASDRUBAL—CHARACTER OF HANNIBAL—SIEGE OF SAGUNTUM—FABIUS OFFERS PEACE OR WAR—HANNIBAL PREPARES FOR WAR—CROSSES THE PYRENEES—HIS DREAM—PASSAGE OF THE RHONE—PASSAGE OF THE ALPS—BATTLES OF THE TICINUS AND TREBIA—RETREAT OF THE ROMANS—HANNIBAL CROSSES THE APENNINES—BATTLE OF THRASYMENTUS—CHARACTER OF FLAMINIUS—Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS DICTATOR—STRATAGEM OF HANNIBAL—TACTICS OF HANNIBAL AND FABIUS SIMILAR—CONDUCT OF THE SENATE—POSITION OF THE TWO ARMIES AT CANNÆ—THE BATTLE—DESPAIR AT ROME.

CARTHAGE suffered from the effects of the war as severely as Rome. The national treasury was exhausted, and the mercenary troops being for that reason, unpaid, mutinied, laid waste and made themselves masters of the country, and almost ruined the capital. A revolt also took place in Sardinia. The Carthaginian inhabit-

ants were massacred, and the Romans, contrary to the stipulations of the peace, joined the rebels, and thus got possession of Sardinia, together with the neighbouring island of Corsica.\*

The skill and bravery of Hamilcar crushed the rebels and re-established the supremacy of Carthage at home; he then determined to carry its dominion into Spain. Sacrifices were offered previous to his starting on his expedition; and his son, Hannibal, then nine years old, before accompanying him into Spain, swore, at his father's request, eternal enmity to the Romans. Hamilcar rapidly extended his conquests, and met with no reverses until he arrived at the Tagus, where he was killed in battle. This expedition aroused the jealousy of the Romans, and the senate voted a declaration of war. Hanno, who was the leader of the peace party, as Hannibal was of the bitter advocates for war, expostulated on the part of the Carthaginians, and peace was again ratified six years after the war had ended.† The Temple of Janus was closed as a sign that Rome was at peace with the world. Once had this occurred, namely, in the reign of Numa: once was it to occur again, when Augustus, in whose reign the Prince of Peace was born, had established the peace of the world. The Romans, however, did not long remain in peace with their neighbours; their armies were often engaged, although not on important occasions; but a victory of the celebrated Q. Fabius Maximus, over the Ligurians, was deemed sufficiently illustrious to obtain the honour of a triumph.

The Roman arms did not find sufficient employment in Italy; their restless and domineering spirit felt cramped and confined by the limits of the Italian peninsula. We have followed them across the Mediterranean into Africa: we have now to trace their course over the Adriatic. The Illyrians, who were barbarous and predatory tribes, spread over the north-east shore of that sea, as far as the Danube. They infested the whole passage between Greece and Italy with their piracies, and

\* B.C. 238, A.U.C. 516.

† B.C. 235, A.U.C. 519.



the Italian merchants, therefore, sent to Rome to beg for protection. Three ambassadors were accordingly sent to Illyria; and the Regent Teuta, the widow of the late king, imprisoned one of them and put the other two to death. War was then declared by Rome,\* and an army of twenty-two thousand men sent in a fleet of two hundred ships of war. The Regent soon submitted, and the country became tributary to the Romans.

Rome had thus laid Greece under deep obligations for the protection which she had afforded to Greek commerce as well as to her own. We cannot wonder, therefore, that when, on the conclusion of the Illyrian war, Roman ambassadors were sent to Athens and Corinth, they were received in the most complimentary manner. The former city admitted the Romans to the privileges of citizenship; the latter, recognizing their kindred blood, admitted them as candidates at the Isthmian games.

During a period of about fifty years the Gauls, undisturbed by the Romans in their Cisalpine territories (Lombardy), remained quiet and peaceable; but after the first Punic war, C. Flaminius, a tribune of the people, had passed a bill for dividing the territory of the Senones (Romagna) amongst the people. The Roman settlements thus made, aroused the jealousy of the Boii, who lived on the confines of the Senones, in the neighbourhood of Modena and Parma; they therefore, for self-protection, made an alliance with the Insubres, who lived near Milan, as well as with some transalpine tribes.

The result of this was, that in A.U.C. 527,† a vast horde of Gauls broke into Italy. The Romans, in order to meet them, made a general levy of troops, and thus raised an immense army, consisting, at the lowest computation, of three hundred thousand men. The main body of this army, under the consul L. Æmilius, was encamped in the neighbourhood of Florence, the remainder was stationed in Etruria. The Gauls marched

\* B.C. 229, A.U.C. 525.

† B.C. 227.

through Etruria as far as Clusium, which is situated at a distance of three days' journey from Rome. The Roman reserve suffered a temporary defeat, but the consul coming to the rescue, gained a great victory: forty thousand Gauls are said to have been slain, and ten thousand taken prisoners.\*

The consuls for the next year were T. Manlius Torquatus and Q. Fulvius Flaccus; but although under their command a Roman army, for the first time, crossed the Po, they did little, and abdicated in favour of a dictator. In the year B.C. 223, the war was carried on successfully by Flaminius. The senate hated him as a plebeian and an opponent of the aristocratical party; and pretending that the auguries were unpropitious, recalled him. He refused, however, to read the letter which conveyed to him their commands, until the victory was gained. The senate, in order to punish his disobedience, refused him a triumph, but it was granted him by the people.

Three years afterwards he filled the office of censor, in which capacity he transferred the freedmen from the country to the city tribes, a position more suitable to their walk of life, which was that of tradesmen rather than that of agriculturists. As controller of the public works, he made the great Flaminian road which stretches across Italy from Rome to Ariminum (Rimini), and which exists to this day, and built the circus in the Campus Martius, which also bore his name. The hero of the next year † was a member of the opposite party to Flaminius, the consul M. Claudius Marcellus. In an engagement with the Gauls he slew their chieftain, Viridomarus, and for the third time in Roman story, offered the spolia opima, in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. In the ensuing year, ‡ Hasdrubal was assassinated by an Iberian, in revenge for having put to death the chieftain of his tribe; and the army unanimously appointed Hannibal, who was now twenty-six

\* B.C. 225, A.U.C. 529.

† B.C. 222, A.U.C. 532.

‡ B.C. 221, A.U.C. 533.

years of age, his successor. The character of this great man has been much misrepresented by historians; but if judged by the records of history rather than by the opinions of his times, he will be found to have been a worthy antagonist of his great adversary, Scipio.

Distinguished by a patriotic and unselfish devotion to the interests of his country, he exhibited on all occasions coolness, patience, courage, endurance, self-denial, and all the qualities of a great general. He had an unbounded influence over men's minds, because he understood human nature. He has been accused of avarice, perfidy, and cruelty. The first two charges have never been proved; with regard to the last, all that can be said against him is, that he was not in advance of his age, and he must not be judged by the humane principles of modern warfare. Possessing natural talents of the highest order, he improved them by cultivation, and by associating with learned Greeks; and added to quick perceptions the good sense and wisdom of a statesman.

Such was the man to whom Carthage now intrusted the command of her armies. His first act which brought him in contact with Rome, was his laying siege to Saguntum. The Saguntines sent to Rome for help. Ambassadors were despatched in consequence both to Hannibal and Carthage, demanding a cessation of hostilities, but without success. Hannibal pressed the siege, and the garrison of Saguntum made a most heroic resistance. In eight months the town was taken by storm; the brave chieftains lighted a fire, and threw themselves into the flames rather than fall into the hands of the enemy; and after the plunder and entire demolition of the place, Hannibal retired with his army to New Carthage (Carthagena).<sup>\*</sup> Fresh ambassadors were then sent from Rome to Carthage to negotiate peace. One of them, M. Fabius, folded up his toga and exclaimed, "Which will you have, peace or war?" The Carthaginians answered, "Which you will."

<sup>\*</sup> B.C. 219, A.U.C. 535.

"War, then," said Fabius, and his words were received with shouts of approbation.

Meanwhile, Hannibal was making vigorous preparations for hostilities. He sent ambassadors into Gaul to request their friendly aid against their common enemies, and they met with a most welcome reception. These good tidings he communicated to his soldiers, who eagerly consented to be led into Italy. With an army of ninety thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and thirty-seven elephants, he passed the Iberus (Ebro), and, advancing rapidly, crossed the Pyrenees at that part of the chain which slopes down to the Mediterranean. Some of his troops here mutinied; and thinking it better to get rid of the discontented, he gave them their discharge, and proceeded on his way with fifty thousand infantry, and nine thousand cavalry.

Whilst Hannibal was thus pressing forward, the Romans on the other hand were dilatory; and although they sent P. Cornelius Scipio by sea to Gaul, and Tib. Sempronius Longus to Sicily, Hannibal had reached the Rhone by the time that Scipio sailed into the port of Marseilles.\*

Hannibal, like all great men, was full of enthusiasm. He imagined that he had a divine mission to fulfil. He dreamed that the gods in council assigned him his task, and that a heavenly guide conducted him; that as he went on he looked back and saw that he was followed by a hideous monster. When he asked what it meant, his conductor answered, "It is the destroyer of Italy; go on and fear not."

The passage of the Rhone was attended with great difficulty. Scipio, indeed, made no effort to oppose Hannibal; but the Gauls on the east bank used their utmost endeavours to impede the progress of an invading host, which, like a swarm of locusts, threatened to devour all the produce of their country. Hannibal arrived at the Rhone about half-way between its mouth and the Isère. He sent a detachment to cross on rafts

\* B.C. 218, A.U.C. 536.

higher up, and so turn the flank of the Gauls. The lighting of a fire was the signal that they had accomplished their object; and Hannibal, taking advantage of the consternation of the Gauls at finding part of the enemy in their rear, crossed the river in canoes and rafts, which he had hastily constructed, and in vessels which he had purchased from the inhabitants.

The most arduous part of the task was the transportation of the elephants; but the plan pursued was similar to that of those who capture these animals in the present day. Large rafts were covered with earth and moored to the bank. Females were used as decoys, and thus the elephants were induced to venture on the rafts. They were then cut adrift and floated across the stream. At first there was great confusion; and some of the animals, alarmed, leaped into the river, but eventually all reached the opposite bank in safety.

A slight skirmish here took place with a squadron of cavalry which Scipio had despatched from Marseilles. Victory appears to have been on the side of the Romans; but Hannibal pursued his course up the east bank of the river. Scipio, who had followed his cavalry, returned to the fleet, sent his army, under the command of his brother Cnæus, to Spain, and himself sailed to Pisa, and thence to the army in Cisalpine Gaul.

The Allobroges, a powerful tribe, which occupied a vast extent of country, allowed the Carthaginians to pass through their territory; and about the end of September they arrived at the Little St. Bernard. This presented the most favourable point for the passage across the Alps. It is lower than the other passes, and it was traversed by a road used by the inhabitants. The climate of the Alps was colder then than it is now; and although Hannibal's track did not lie across fields of ice and glaciers, snow had already fallen, and in some places the road was impassable. Then began terrific sufferings: cold and hunger rapidly thinned his ranks. The inhabitants hurled down fragments of rock

upon their heads; and when the Carthaginian general stood in the valley of Aosta he numbered only twenty thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry.

Scipio was taken behind-hand; but the armies met at the Ticinus (Tesino), and the Romans were conquered by the Carthaginian cavalry. In this battle Scipio's life was saved by his son, Publius, with great difficulty. The Romans now retreated, and Hannibal advanced, and they met again at the Trebia, the invaders on the eastern bank, on the other the united forces of Sempronius and Scipio. The Trebia is rather a mountain torrent than a river, and is not too deep to walk across; its banks are thickly tangled with brushwood. In this ambush Hannibal concealed part of his troops, and then provoked the Romans to ford the half-frozen stream. The latter were defeated with great loss, and ten thousand out of thirty thousand escaped to Placentia (Placenza); but it was the bitter cold, and not the enemy which beat them. In fact, so severe was the weather, that the Carthaginians did not attempt to pursue them. Hannibal took up his winter quarters on the banks of the Po, and the Romans marched to Ariminum (Rimini).

The consuls for the ensuing year,\* were Flaminius and Cn. Servilius. Etruria was assigned to the former as his province, and he encamped at Arretium (Arrezzo); the latter took the command of the army at Rimini.

In the spring, Hannibal proceeded on his way to Rome. He crossed the Apennines, and descended into the low, marshy country, which lay between them and the Arno. In this unhealthy district he lost the sight of an eye. Flaminius, hearing of his advance, hastened to intercept him, and they met on the banks of the lake Thrasymenus (Perugia). The Carthaginians occupied the heights; the Romans were marching along a narrow road between them and the lake, when, the morning being misty, the Carthaginians fell upon them before

\* B.C. 217, A.U.C. 537.



they were aware; killed fifteen thousand, and put the rest to flight. A reinforcement, which Servilius sent from Ariminum immediately afterwards, shared their fate. Flaminius was amongst the slain. He was a man of generous temper, though perhaps of intemperate zeal; a protector of the people from oppression, but an unfair opponent of the nobles. One of his acts was decidedly illiberal and unjust, namely, his support of a law which was proposed and carried by Claudius. By this law it was enacted, that no senator should be permitted to own a merchant-ship, and thus engage in trade or commerce.

Alarm pervaded Rome when the sad news arrived of the disastrous defeat at Thrasymenus; and in the emergency, the people appointed Q. Fabius Maximus, dictator, and M. Minucius, master of the horse. Hannibal remained quiet, during the heats of summer, in the temperate and healthy district of Picenum; and in the autumn, keeping for some distance along the coast of the Adriatic, he marched to Apulia, thinking that the inhabitants would join his standard. In this expectation, however, he was disappointed. He next descended into the Falernian plain, and laid waste this rich garden of Italy with fire and sword. Fabius kept hanging on his rear; and at last, by his caution and watchfulness, succeeded in preventing his approach to Rome along the Appian road, by occupying the pass of Terracina, and at the same time cut off his retreat by garrisoning Casilinum.

A stratagem saved Hannibal from destruction. He tied faggots to the horns of some oxen, and having set fire to them, drove them towards the Romans. They, seeing the scattered lights, imagined that their enemies were escaping over the hills, and left their post, and Hannibal thus got safe to Samnium.

The tactics of Hannibal and Fabius were very similar; patience and caution characterized both, each was waiting his opportunity. This instance in which the crafty Carthaginian seemed to have overreached his

adversary, created a prejudice against Fabius at Rome, and the senate invested his master of the horse with equal power. Minucius made use of this privilege to depart from the Fabian policy; and Hannibal, repeating the tactics which were so successful at Trebia, would have cut the troops of Minucius to pieces, had not they been rescued by the dictator. This regained for him his deserved popularity, and he received the surname of Cunctator (the delayer).

Of the next year's\* consuls, C. Terentius Varro represented the popular interest, and Æmilius Paulus that of the aristocracy. The consular army, consisting of eighty thousand foot and six thousand horse, encamped on the Aufidus, near Cannæ; Æmilius on the south bank, Varro on the north. Cannæ was the storehouse of the Romans, and Hannibal took it, notwithstanding the strength of the citadel. After some delay Æmilius crossed the river, and joined his colleague. Hannibal crossed also, and the two armies drew up opposite to one another; the Carthaginians facing the north, with the river in their rear. The Aufidus here formed a reach, so that it touched the flanks of both armies. The numbers of the Romans were about seventy thousand foot, and between six thousand and eight thousand horse. The Carthaginians had forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse. The cavalry of both were stationed on the wings, and began the engagement. Hannibal next moved forward *en échelon*, and tried, without success, to break the Roman line. But, as he retreated beyond the wings of his army, and the Romans advanced, he turned the Roman flanks, and, by this movement, completely routed them.

Accident also favoured the Carthaginians; for, at noon, a strong south wind arose, and blew clouds of calcareous dust in the eyes of the Romans. It is said that Hannibal had previously caused the land to be ploughed up, in order that this effect might be produced. The Romans lost forty thousand men, and the consul,

\* B.C. 216, A.U.C. 538.

Æmilius, was slain. Varro escaped safe to Venusia. Hannibal's loss did not amount to six thousand.

When intelligence of the defeat arrived at Rome, the city was full of despair and humiliation: prayers were offered in the temples; and so terrible is the spirit of heathenism, that the people endeavoured to propitiate their false deities by the sacrifice of human victims.

## CHAPTER XI.

DEFECTION OF CAPUA — CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF HANNIBAL'S GLORY—HANNIBAL HAD NO SEA-PORT—DISTRESSED CONDITION OF ROME—ENLISTMENT OF GLADIATORS—ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS FOR HANNIBAL—CAPTURE OF CASILINUM—CONSPIRACY IN TARENTUM IN FAVOUR OF HANNIBAL — CAPUA BESIEGED BY THE ROMANS—HANNIBAL MARCHES TO ROME—CONDUCT OF THE SENATE AND PEOPLE — RETREAT OF THE CARTHAGINIANS—SURRENDER OF CAPUA — NEGOTIATIONS WITH HIERONYMUS — REVOLUTIONS IN SYRACUSE — THE BLOCKADE AND CAPTURE—CONDUCT AND CHARACTER OF MARCELLUS — ROMANS DEFEATED AT HERDONIA—TARENTUM BETRAYED—ARRIVAL OF HASDRUBAL—BATTLE OF THE METAURUS—OPERATIONS IN SPAIN—CHARACTER OF P. SCIPIO—NEW CARTHAGE TAKEN—DEATH OF MAGO—HANNIBAL RECALLED—SCIPIO IN AFRICA—BATTLE OF ZAMA—PEACE CONCLUDED.

THE misfortunes of Rome shook the fidelity of her allies, and many of the nations in Southern Italy joined the standard of Hannibal.\* Capua was the wealthiest and most luxurious city in wealthy and luxurious Campania. Luxury had produced effeminacy, but wealth had fostered ambition, and Capua cherished the hope of rising, on the ruins of Rome, to the empire of Italy. Although, therefore, she was favoured above all the allies of Rome, and her nobles and citizens admitted to social and political equality, they treacherously deserted their old friends, and made a treaty with the invader. With the accession of Capua, the power and successes of Hannibal reached their maximum. His glory henceforth began to decline. Some say his soldiers were corrupted by luxury and self-indulgence, and forsook the hardy habits of warriors.

\* B.C. 216, A.U.C. 538.

But, as Niebuhr observed, there was another cause which might have led to failure. Although his army diminished every battle, and disease often thinned its ranks, he had no means of recruiting, except with men inferior to his original soldiers; his veterans were almost all dead; his army was full of raw recruits.

Notwithstanding the great successes of Hannibal, he had not possession of a single sea-port by which he could open a communication with Carthage, or profit by her maritime power. In all his endeavours to make himself master of one he was disappointed. He made unsuccessful attempts upon Naples and Cumæ; and in an attack upon Nola, he sustained a defeat from the prætor, Marcellus, who having been intended for the command in Sicily, had been sent into Apulia, and afterwards had taken up his position upon the heights above Nola.

The Romans were now reduced to great straits. They were deprived of their best allies; great part of their most fertile and profitable territory was taken from them. The ravages of war had not left sufficient men to cultivate even the lands which they still possessed. The senate was so reduced that it was deemed inexpedient, if not dangerous, to intrust the power of filling up the register to the censors, as usual, and, therefore, M. Fabius Buteo, the oldest of all who had previously filled the office of censor, was appointed expressly for the performance of this duty.

As for financial resources, the exchequer was drained, and the people were too poor to replenish it. Rome seemed to be on the eve of a general bankruptcy. Nor could enough men of military age be found to supply the vacancies in the legions. They were, therefore, forced to enlist gladiators, and to purchase, for the same purpose, eight thousand slaves. It was fortunate that Hannibal had his difficulties to cope with, or Rome must have inevitably fallen. But the providence of God, who raises up and casts down princes and empires—who said of Cyrus, "He is my shepherd"—preserved

the imperial city, in order to carry into effect His designs for the benefit of mankind.

After the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal had sent his brother, Mago, to Carthage, with a request for fresh troops, and they arrived at a most acceptable time. He had long since lost all his elephants. One alone remained to carry him across the marshes of the Arno; but now he was reinforced with both elephants and cavalry.\* His first important exploit was the capture of Casilinum. It was situated only three miles from Capua, and commanded the river Volturnus; it was, therefore, most important to his interests that it should be occupied by a Carthaginian garrison.

In the ensuing year,† an opportunity was offered him of acquiring that of which he stood so much in need, namely, a sea-port town. There were, as was the case in all Greek towns, two parties in Tarentum—the aristocracy attached to the Romans, and their opponents, the democratic party, anxious for a connection with Carthage. Overtures were therefore made to Hannibal, and a promise given that the city should surrender. He accepted the invitation, and marched for Tarentum; but the Romans had been beforehand with him, and the ascendancy of their party was maintained. Still, however, he remained in the neighbourhood, waiting for a favourable opportunity. Nor were his friends in the city inactive. A conspiracy was formed, the gates forced, and one division of the troops of Hannibal admitted.‡

Philemenus, one of the ringleaders, let in another body at a different gate, by the following stratagem. He was fond of hunting, and, by frequent presents of game, had bribed the sentinels to let him pass the gates at all hours. In the night in which Hannibal was admitted into the city, Philemenus with a few of his friends, disguised as countrymen, knocked at the gate, carrying a huge boar which they had slain. Whilst

\* B.C. 215, A.U.C. 539.

† B.C. 214, A.U.C. 540.

‡ B.C. 213, A.U.C. 541.

the sentinel was admiring the monster, they stabbed him, overpowered the rest of the guard, and admitted another division of Hannibal's army. The two divisions then marched to the market-place, joined forces, massacred the Romans, and plundered the houses in which they were quartered. Though Hannibal thus gained possession of the town, a Roman garrison still held the citadel. He therefore contented himself with assisting the Tarentines to drag their ships through the streets, from the harbour to the sea, in order to intercept Roman reinforcements in that direction, and then returned to Apulia.

Whilst Hannibal was there, the Romans, taking advantage of his absence, were besieging Capua.\* The inhabitants in their distress, despatched messengers to Hannibal to entreat aid. Accordingly, he sent Hanno, who formed plans for throwing provisions into the town; but the Capuans neglecting to provide conveyances for the corn, his plans failed. At length Hannibal came to their relief in person, and proved too strong for his adversaries. The consuls abandoned their camp. Ap-pius Claudius retired to Lucania, and Fulvius to Cumæ. Hannibal at first set off in pursuit of Appius: but the remembrance of Tarentum caused him to desist, and, falling in with one Roman army, commanded by Centenius, in Lucania, and another in Apulia, commanded by Fulvius, he defeated them one after another, with great loss.

The consuls, meanwhile, returned to the siege of Capua. They drew double lines round it, which not only cut off all chance of relief, but protected the assailants themselves against the sallies of the besieged, and any operations on the part of Hannibal. When he attacked the Roman entrenchments he could make no impression, and he therefore determined to march to Rome, thinking that, at least, the consuls would thus be compelled to raise the siege.† Keeping for some distance along the great Latin road, he crossed the

\* B.C. 212, A.U.C. 542.

† B.C. 211, A.U.C. 543.



Apennines, and then pursuing the same course as the Gauls had done before, havoc and desolation marking his track, he halted and encamped on the height now called the Monte Pincio, near the Colline gate.

In the city, there was the same consternation on the part of the inhabitants generally, the same fortitude and determination on the part of the senate, as when the Gallic hordes were thundering at their gates. An army was rapidly raised. Fulvius had already been recalled from Capua, and entering the city by the Porta Capena, had crossed it, and met Hannibal before he could make an assault upon the walls. The Romans soon recovered from their panic; and confidence was so completely restored, that it is said that the very ground on which Hannibal's army was encamped, was sold at an undiminished price.

Hannibal saw at once that an attack was hopeless. He contented himself, therefore, with empty threats and hurling his javelins, in defiance, at the walls. Eight days only he remained, and then ravaging the country in his way, he retreated to Apulia, and thence to Rhegium (Reggio), which he endeavoured to take, but without success.

His movement upon Rome had utterly failed in relieving Capua. This powerful city now surrendered; and its nobles, like those of Saguntum, perished by their own hands, not choosing to survive the ruin of their country. Slavery, chains, imprisonment, and death, were the doom of all who survived: and the whole territory was forfeited, and let out to Roman citizens. Fulvius was refused a triumph, because the conquest of Capua was no accession to the Roman empire, but only the recovery of an old possession.

There were at the same time, four theatres of war—Italy, Sicily, Spain, and Greece. The scene now shifts to Sicily.

Hiero, the old friend of Rome, died soon after the battle of Cannæ. His grandson and successor, Hieronymus, a vain young man, thought that the misfortunes

of the Romans justified him in making a bold stroke for the empire of all Sicily. When, therefore, Hannibal sent ambassadors to propose an alliance, he found in the young king a willing listener. It suited Hannibal's purpose for the present to give him the whole of Sicily, on condition of his dissolving his ancestral connection with Rome.

Scarcely were these negotiations completed when the Roman party in Syracuse conspired against Hieronymus. He was assassinated, and the government became republican. Carthaginian influence, however, prevailed, and another revolution broke out, the result of which was, that two of Hannibal's ambassadors, Hippocrates and Epicydes, were placed at the head of affairs. M. Claudius Marcellus was accordingly despatched with an army to Sicily, and he immediately blockaded Syracuse.\*

The mathematician Archimedes is said to have counterworked their mines and destroyed the machines of the Romans by his engineering and mechanical skill. There is a tradition that he set fire to the Roman fleet, by means of burning-mirrors or concave reflectors. This is probably untrue. Polybius mentions contrivances of his for lifting up ships out of the water; and



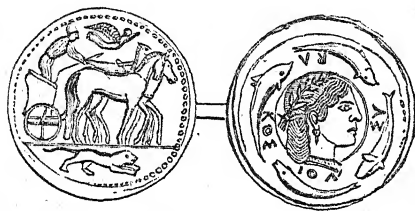
COIN OF SYRACUSE.

with reference to these he relates that Marcellus exclaimed, "He uses our ships for buckets to draw water." But neither Polybius, Livy, nor Plutarch,

\* B.C. 214, A.U.C. 540.

speak of the burning-glasses. Syracuse at length fell by treachery. Some deserters informed Marcellus that the inhabitants were celebrating the festival of Diana: he, therefore, scaled a part of the wall which was badly defended, and took the new suburban quarters of the city, Tyche and Neapolis, and the sloping heights of Epipolæ. From this position the conqueror surveyed the rest of the city, and was so affected that he burst into tears. This is the only instance of that tender-heartedness which the Roman historians praise, for he gave all up to indiscriminate plunder, and the siege of Syracuse is one of the most terrible in history.

Still the oldest and strongest portions of the city, Acradina and Ortygia, remained to be taken. The inhabitants were willing to surrender, but some deserters



COIN OF SYRACUSE, NO. II.

from the Roman camp joined the mercenary troops in an insurrection, menaced their officers, and then betrayed Acradina into the hands of the Romans.

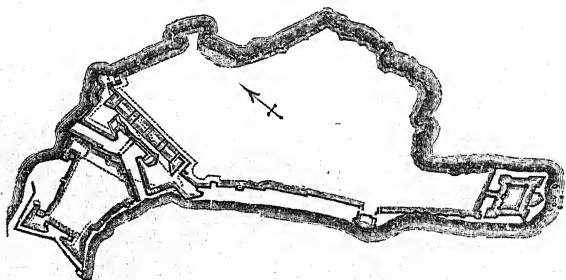
The treasures of the richest and most magnificent city in Europe were now at the mercy of the conquerors. Temples, palaces, and private dwellings were ransacked; and as during the war the finest specimens of Greek art were carried off to Rome, she learnt to admire and imitate the productions of Greek taste and genius.

As Marcellus was the instrument by which his countrymen became acquainted with these specimens of artistic beauty, taste and refinement came to be attributed to

him, and probably to the same cause this merciless conqueror owed his character for humanity.

He promised to spare the lives of the Syracusans, but the streets flowed with blood. The great Archimedes was amongst the slain. The inhabitants were sold as slaves, or turned into the fields to perish with hunger.

A lesser triumph or ovation was decreed to Marcellus on his return, but his spoils rendered it as splendid as a triumph would have been. In the year B.C. 210,\* he was rewarded with the consulship. When the provinces were allotted, that of Sicily fell to Marcellus. The Syracusans, remembering what they had suffered at his hands, were in despair. The senate sympathized with them, but still thought they could not do otherwise than record their approbation of his acts. The Syracusan delegates then begged his forgiveness, and made him the *patronus* of their city. Nevertheless, Lævinus, the other consul, took Sicily as his province, and Marcellus proceeded to carry on the war in Italy against Hannibal. Two years after the fall of Syracuse, Agrigentum experienced the same cruel fate; and thus Sicily was entirely subjugated to the power of Rome.



PLAN OF SYRACUSE.

The course of events now leads us back again into Italy. The consul Marcellus had proceeded to Sam-

\* A.U.C. 544.

nium, and Cn. Fulvius, who remained as proconsul after his consulship was concluded, was in Apulia.\* Fulvius was attacking a town named Herdonia, when Hannibal unexpectedly came upon him, defeated him in an action in which Fulvius was slain, and burnt Herdonia to the ground.

In the next year,† Fabius and Q. Fulvius were consuls, and Marcellus remained as proconsul. Hannibal had upon the whole been successful during the preceding four years, but he had now experienced a severe loss, for Tarentum was betrayed by the commander of the garrison into the hands of the Romans.

Crispinus and Marcellus were consuls for the following year,‡ and both were proceeding to lay siege to the Greek city of Locri. Hannibal, however, hastened to interrupt their design. A woody hill concealed the approach of his army from the Roman camp, and he was thus able to attack them unawares and put them to flight. Marcellus was slain on the field of battle, and his colleague subsequently died of his wounds.

Tidings now reached Rome of an alarming nature. Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, was on his march from Spain to Italy, by the same road which his brother had taken, and had already arrived in Gaul. Rome had now to struggle against two great generals.§ The consuls appointed to oppose them were C. Claudius Nero, a patrician, and M. Livius Salinator, a plebeian. The latter was naturally ill-tempered, and was smarting under a sense of wrong, because he had been fined some years before for an unfair division of the Illyrian spoil. His moroseness, too, was perhaps increased by the infirmities of age; and, besides this, he had a personal hatred to his colleague. At first, therefore, he sternly refused to accept the office, but the entreaties of the senate at length prevailed; he sacrificed his private feelings to the good of his country, and was reconciled to Nero.

\* B.C. 210, A.U.C. 544.

† B.C. 208, A.U.C. 546.

‡ B.C. 209, A.U.C. 545.

§ B.C. 207, A.U.C. 547.

The Romans, as might be expected, made great efforts, and a huge army, consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand men, half Romans, half allies, was soon in the field. The first point for which Hasdrubal made was Rimini, his wish being to proceed along the coast and join his brother on the borders of Apulia. The movements of the consular armies caused him to alter his plans, and he endeavoured to re-cross the Metaurus ; but as the night was dark and his guides ran away, he could not find the ford.

The Metaurus, like many streams which descend from the mountains of Italy, winds along at a great depth between its banks, which are steep and rocky, and crowned with trees and underwood ; generally speaking it is shallow and flows gently along, but continued rains had swelled its tide, so that it could not be forded without great difficulty. Owing to this and the steepness of its banks, Hasdrubal remained on the right side of the river. The Romans, therefore, overtook him, and forced him to give them battle. Their numbers were greatly superior to his, and he drew up his forces in a deep phalanx with the elephants in front. These animals, as had often been the case before now, did him more harm than good, and, after a well-fought battle, his whole army was cut to pieces, and he himself died like a brave man. The camp was taken and plundered, and the Roman prisoners set at liberty. The Carthaginians lost ten thousand men, the Romans only two thousand. This battle, and the loss of so heroic and accomplished a general, decided the fate of the Carthaginian arms in Italy.

Nero then hastened with his army to the camp of Hannibal ; and with that cruelty which marked the Claudian family, threw into it the head of Hasdrubal, and in this barbarous manner conveyed to Hannibal the sad news of his brother's defeat and death.

The joy at Rome equalled the anxiety from which the city was relieved. The whole population poured forth to meet the messenger of the good tidings. The



temples were thronged with grateful votaries, and a public thanksgiving was appointed for three days. This joyful year concluded with the triumphal return of the consuls, the replenishment of the national coffers, and the distribution of the spoil amongst the soldiery.

We must now return a few years back, and trace the progress of affairs in Spain. As early as the year in which the battles of Ticinus and Trebia were fought, Cn. Scipio had been sent into Spain to consolidate the Roman interests in that peninsula. His kindness caused him to be eminently successful in gaining the affections of the native chiefs. In the ensuing year, P. Scipio was continued in his command, and joined his brother Cnæus with an army of eight thousand men. If Livy is to be trusted, the Scipios gained many glorious victories, but his authority here is very doubtful. At any rate, in B.C. 213,\* the Carthaginians became involved in a war near home, with a Numidian chief, named Syphax. This occasioned the recall of Hasdrubal, and the Scipios did not fail to make the most of his absence. Probably, temporary success inspired them with too great confidence; for on the return of Hasdrubal,† they divided their armies, and the Carthaginians conquered and killed both the brothers within the short space of thirty days. Their armies appear to have been almost entirely destroyed, and they were succeeded by Claudius Nero, who was transferred thither from Campania.

Two years afterwards,‡ it was determined to send a proconsul to Spain. When the day of election arrived, Publius Scipio, who had saved his father's life at the battle of Ticinus, offered himself as a candidate. Being only twenty-seven years of age, he was by some thought too young; but as he had no competitor, he was appointed, "at the same age," says Dr. Arnold, "at which Napoleon was appointed, in 1796, to take the

\* A.U.C. 541.

† B.C. 211, A.U.C. 543.

‡ B.C. 209, A.U.C. 545.

command of the French army of Italy." Deservedly celebrated, and honoured with the epithet of the Great, many contradictory accounts are given of his character. Some said he was a man of deep religious feeling; others that he was an impostor, because he professed to have visions. Probably, like Socrates, he believed in the presence of some supernatural director, some inward voice, which was to him an oracle. He had all the enthusiasm which carries great men through difficult enterprises, as well as the energy which insures success. Again, he is, on the one hand, accused of dissolute conduct; on the other, he is praised for his continence; it is probable that he may have had strong passions, and that a well-regulated mind and high principles kept them under control.

The measures which Scipio took were prompt and vigorous. He himself, at the head of his army, and his friend Lælius, with the fleet, pushed forward together, with the greatest rapidity, in order to lay siege to New Carthage (Carthagena). This was the Carthaginian arsenal and depot, and the head-quarters of their European empire. The town was built upon a peninsula, and was protected by a marsh on the north side. Scipio made his first assault on the side of the isthmus, and was beaten back by the Carthaginian general Mago. He then renewed the attack, and sent a detachment round to the marsh, which effected an entrance at a spot where the town was less strongly fortified. The town was sacked and plundered, and many of the inhabitants put to the sword. Scipio, however, was a merciful conqueror. He set at liberty the citizens, with their wives and families; to the rest he promised freedom if they would serve Rome faithfully during the remainder of the war.

The influence of Scipio in Spain, and his popularity with the natives, gradually but steadily increased, and the power of the Carthaginians diminished in proportion. Roman ascendancy was established as far as the Bætis (Guadalquivir), and even the title of king was

offered to the Roman general, whilst Hasdrubal's only hope seems to have been with the inhabitants of the Western Pyrenees, who were too distant to come in contact with Scipio.

After Hasdrubal had left Spain for Italy, the Carthaginian generals remaining there were Mago, and Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco.\* Scipio met the latter at a town named Silpia, the position of which is not known. A battle was fought, in which the Romans were, within a very short space of time, victorious. This victory destroyed the prospects of Carthage, and Hasdrubal and Mago escaped by way of Gades (Cadiz), the former to Africa, the latter to the Balearic isles.

The battle of the Metaurus had decided the fate of Italy, and had dispelled that dark and threatening cloud which had so long brooded over its fortunes. The campaign of Scipio had now made the power of Rome irresistible in Spain. His work now was not making sure his position, but punishing those wavering allies who had endangered its safety.

The most serious interruption to this fortunate state of affairs, was a mutiny which broke out amongst the troops of the allies. Scipio, however, quelled it, by promising to redress their grievances, and executed the ringleaders. His last important act was an endeavour to lay the foundation of a Roman alliance in Africa itself, by a personal interview and treaty with Syphax, chieftain of the Masæsylians. He then returned to Rome, laden with treasure. As he was only a proconsul, he could not enjoy the honour of a triumph; but he was immediately elected consul with P. Licinius Crassus as his colleague.

From the Balearic isles Mago landed in Italy, and took Genoa; but soon after was severely wounded in an engagement, in which the Romans with difficulty gained the victory. He was then recalled, but died of his wounds on his voyage home. Hannibal was also recalled at the same time, and left Italy, after a cam-

\* B.C. 206, A.U.C. 548.

paign of fifteen years, the most brilliant and successful, perhaps, in the records of history.

The year of Scipio's consulate was passed principally in an uneventful campaign in Sicily, marked by no incidents of interest, except the capture of Locri. Scipio's enemies accused him of indolence, but inquiry proved that he was employed in making preparations for an African war.

All his operations were now concentrated upon that quarter of the world. The intimate and inseparable friend of Scipio, C. Lælius, sailed thither as his lieutenant-general, and Scipio himself soon followed him.\* He landed unopposed near Utica, not many miles from Carthage. A love affair deeply affected the politics of Africa. Masinissa, chieftain of Numidia, was in love with Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco; and Syphax was his successful rival. Consequently, the latter renounced the alliance which he had made with Scipio, and joined Hasdrubal; while the former, although he could not act openly, promised, out of spite, to help Scipio.

After laying waste the country, he proceeded to besiege Utica, but the allied forces of Hasdrubal and Syphax compelled him to raise the siege, and to make preparations for secure winter-quarters. Masinissa soon performed his promise. The camp of the Numidians consisted of huts thatched with reed and straw. The treacherous chief, therefore, joined his forces to the brigade under the command of Lælius, and set fire to the camp. The flames raged furiously, and, except Hasdrubal and a few with him, all perished. Syphax was easily defeated and captured, and his rival took possession of Cirta, the capital of his kingdom. There he found Sophonisba, and married her. Scipio demanded that she should be given up to him; and Masinissa sent her poison, which she took rather than fall into the hands of the Romans. Such was the tragic termination of this romantic affair.

\* B.C. 204, A.U.C. 550.

The Carthaginians were now in despair, and opened negotiations for peace, but, encouraged by the arrival of Hannibal from Italy, they broke them off before the peace was finally concluded. Hannibal was a prudent diplomatist, as well as a brave general. He was, therefore, as anxious for peace as Scipio. His negotiations, however, were unsuccessful, for the terms which Scipio was disposed to demand were harder than the Carthaginian people would submit to.

These negotiations were followed by the decisive battle of Zama.\* A story is told of a personal conference between the two generals previously, but it is only worthy of a place in the romance of history. The field of battle was situated some distance to the west of Carthage.

The tactics of Scipio were somewhat peculiar on this occasion. Usually a Roman army was drawn up in three lines. The first line were the Hastati, so called because they were armed with lances (*hastæ*); the second were the Principes, who derived their name from having originally occupied the first rank; the third were the Triarii, or Veterans. The maniples, or divisions, of which the army was composed, were drawn up so that the maniples in the alternate ranks covered the spaces in the rank before them, like the squares on a chessboard.

Scipio, however, arranged his troops, so that passages were left through the whole, parallel to the files. In these passages were posted a few light-armed skirmishers. His object was, that the elephants should rush down these lanes, and thus be led entirely out of the sphere of the action. The event justified his precautions. Some of these animals alarmed, carried confusion, as usual, into their own ranks; others rushed down the passages, as Scipio had anticipated. The cavalry, as was frequently the case, commenced the action; the elephants followed; the infantry next engaged; and, lastly, Hannibal's reserve and Scipio's

\* B.C. 202, A.U.C. 552.

veterans fought foot to foot, and neither seemed likely to give way. Just when it wanted but little to turn the fortune of the day, Lælius and Masinissa attacked the Carthaginians in the rear, and the day was won. Twenty thousand Carthaginians were slain, and the same number taken prisoners. This action left Rome without a rival. As the battle of the Metaurus secured the peaceable possession of Italy, so the battle of Zama insured to Rome the empire of the world.

The second Punic war was now concluded, after a continuance of seventeen years; and peace was granted to Carthage on the following hard terms:—to give one hundred hostages, to restore all prisoners, to surrender their elephants, and all ships of war, except ten, to wage no more wars, to pay a subsidy of two hundred talents annually for fifty years, and to restore his kingdom to Masinissa. Peace was formally ratified the following year, and Scipio entered Rome in triumph, Syphax being led as a prisoner at the chariot-wheels of the conqueror.\*

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## CHAPTER XII.

MACEDONIAN WAR—DEMETRIUS OF PHARUS—SUPREMACY OF PHILIP—  
CONNECTION OF ROME WITH THE EAST—BATTLE OF CYNOSCEPHALÆ  
—WAR WITH THE INSUBRES, ETC.—IMPEACHMENT OF THE SCIPIOS—  
DEATHS OF SCIPIO AND HANNIBAL—CORRUPTION OF ROMAN MORALS  
—SOURCES OF WEALTH—INTRIGUES AT THE MACEDONIAN COURT—  
ACCESSION OF PERSEUS—WAR DECLARED—BATTLE OF PYDNA—DEATH  
OF PERSEUS—MACEDONIA DIVIDED—MORAL AND POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THIS WAR.

PARALLEL to the events which have been already related, commencing with B.C. 215, the Romans were carrying on another war against Philip of Macedon; and this war was succeeded by a long series of struggles and conquests. This period is not so interesting as the Hannibalian war, because there is no single hero round whom the events group themselves, whose fortunes we delight to trace

\* B.C. 201, A.U.C. 553.



through their various vicissitudes, and whose character and reputation we see gradually formed and established. Periods of war, in fact, are not generally interesting, except, first, so far as the emergencies of the times raise up great men, who stand out in the picture like Homer's chieftains, higher by a head and shoulders than the common race of mankind; and, secondly, on account of their social and political results. In the period in which we are now entering, the results are more important and interesting than the events which led to them, for they are the steps by which the Romans arrived at universal dominion.

Demetrius, of Pharus, was an Illyrian chieftain, who, in the first Illyrian war, had gone over to the Romans; but when the check of the Roman armies was removed, he returned to his old piratical habits, and put himself under the protection of Philip III., king of Macedon. The report which Demetrius gave of the power of Rome alarmed that monarch, and in the year B.C. 215,\* he made an alliance with Hannibal. The principal impediments to his supremacy in Greece were the Ætolians, a free and powerful people; but they were unable to stand against him single-handed, and found it their interest to purchase peace by submission.

This state of things did not continue long, for a few years afterwards they made an alliance with the Romans; but, as the object of the latter was to take care of themselves rather than to help others, the Ætolians were glad to obtain peace on still more disadvantageous terms than before. All the other states of Greece, which had been so powerful and celebrated in ancient times, were now powerless, and Philip, while he professed to be the Lord Protector, was, in fact, the Lord Paramount of Greece. Of the strength of his empire there can be little doubt, since, when the Romans made peace with him,† they ceded some territory to him (a thing which they very seldom did), and thus enabled him to extend his supremacy over Epirus. We shall now see how

\* A.U.C. 539.

† B.C. 206, A.U.C. 548.

Rome became connected with the kingdoms of the East, and laid the foundations of her empire there.

The kings of Egypt, the successors of Alexander the Great, had possessions in Syria and Asia Minor; and Antiochus, king of Syria, made an alliance with Philip, in order to dispossess them. The time chosen was favourable to their design, as Ptolemy Epiphanes, the king of Egypt, was still in his minority. Antiochus and Philip were successful, but they became involved in a war with Rhodes, and Attalus, king of Pergamus, who were allies of Egypt.



EGYPTIAN COIN.

About the same time some Acarnanians intruded upon the mysteries of Demeter, at Athens, and were slain by the enraged populace. The Acarnanians called in the aid of Philip to avenge their cause, and the Athenians applied to Rome for protection. Here, then, were two inducements to a rupture with Philip: (1.)

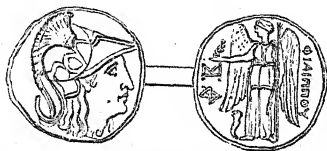


COIN OF ATHENS.

a wish to assist the Rhodians and Attalus, who were friends of Rome; (2.) to support the Athenians. A strong confederacy was formed, against which Philip maintained his ground for three years. The Roman army carried on war by land under the successive commands of P. Sulpicius Galba, and T. Quinctius Flaminius; and their fleet was reinforced by those of Attalus and the Rhodians. Flaminius met with uninterrupted success, and at length a general engagement was fought at Cynoscephalæ, in Thessaly.\* Philip was completely defeated, eight thousand of his troops were slain, and five thousand taken prisoners. He was compelled, as the price of peace, to restore almost all the Greek states in his dominions to independence, to surrender his fleet, and to pay a thousand talents. The restoration of independence to Greece was proclaimed by Flaminius the following year at the Isthmian games, in the midst of universal rejoicings. The conqueror

\* B.C. 197, A.U.C. 557.

remained in Greece three years for the purpose of completing his arrangements, and then returned to Rome in triumph.\*



COIN OF PHILIP III.

The ambition of Antiochus was not satisfied with his acquisitions in Asia, but he wished to recover some portion of the dominions of Alexander in Europe. He began by taken possession of Lysimachia, a town in the Thracian Chersonesus. The Romans insisted that he should proceed no further, and that he should restore to independence the Greek cities in Asia. At this crisis Antiochus received an invitation from the Ætolians to come into Greece. They were offended, because in the settlement of affairs in Greece they had been refused the Phthiotis. He acceded to their request, but his force was too small to insure success. He made his way into Thessaly; but the consul, M. Acilius Glabrio, together with Philip, who had now joined the Romans, chased him to Thermopylæ, whence he was driven by the lieutenant-general Porcius Cato, who had been previously in Spain, when consul, and had gained great reputation for the justice of his administrations. Soon after this he crossed over again into Asia Minor.

The consuls of the next year† were L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Lælius. The war with Antiochus was intrusted to the former, and his brother Scipio Africanus accompanied him as his lieutenant. A battle was fought at Magnesia, in which the Romans were victorious, and L. Scipio consequently obtained the title of Asiaticus. Antiochus fled to his own dominions, and obtained peace on terms similar to those which, as we

\* B.C. 194, A.U.C. 560.

† B.C. 190, A.U.C. 564.

have seen, the Romans usually demanded, and on the cession of all territory west of the Taurus.

The Romans now came in contact with their old enemies the Gauls, in a different quarter of the world. Nearly a century before, a horde of these barbarians made their appearance in Delphi. Driven thence by the miraculous interposition (as it is said) of the god to whom the oracle and temple were sacred, they passed over into Asia, and settled in Phrygia, where they were known by the name of Galatians. They were the terror of the country round, and levied tribute upon the unwarlike inhabitants of Asia. At the historical period in which we now are, they were Celts in language, as well as in habits, but when St. Paul addressed to their descendants his Epistle which bears their name, they spoke the Greek language. This people were attacked and defeated by the consul of the next year,\* Cn. Manlius Vulso, on the plea that they had assisted Antiochus, but this was, probably, only a veil for his ambitious or avaricious designs.

Such were the principal events of this period. The Romans were also engaged from B.C. 200 to B.C. 181,† in an obstinate war with the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Po, the Insubres, Boii, and Ligures. These people were brave as lions, but they could not cope with the military skill and experience of the Romans; and therefore though they had to fight hard for victory, the latter were ultimately successful, annihilated the barbarians, and planted flourishing colonies in their territory, to be like Modena, Parma, and Lucca, nuclei of modern states.

The deaths of the two great rivals, Hannibal and Scipio, the former in B.C. 183, the latter either the same year, or in B.C. 185,‡ mark this era. Scipio, on his return from Asia, was accused of having received bribes from Antiochus; and his brother Lucius, in the year B.C. 187,§ was required to give in an account of the

\* B.C. 189, A.U.C. 565.

† A.U.C. 571-569.

‡ A.U.C. 554-573.

§ A.U.C. 567.

moneys which he had received in the same war. Both these measures were instigated by Porcius Cato. Now Cato was a good and an honest man, a true patriot, and a thorough Roman of the olden time, but he was a stern and an austere moralist. He was too much wrapped up in the past to admire the age in which he lived ; and as the Scipios were distinguished men, and belonged to his own times, and, therefore, formed an exception to his theory, his prejudices inclined him to disparage their merit, and to show his hatred to them, by always, as Livy expresses it, "barking at them."

Cato's strict sense of justice made him feel that not even the breath of suspicion should sully the character of a public man ; and probably there might have been rumours and scandals which induced him to call the Scipios to account on a principle of duty. But it is also evident that they did not deserve such severe and suspicious treatment, for the honesty of Lucius Scipio was afterwards satisfactorily proved. We cannot, therefore, be surprised at the proud indignation of the African conqueror. The day on which he was summoned before the people was the anniversary of the glorious battle of Zama, and all he deigned to answer to his accusers was, that it was a day ill chosen. With this defence the people cordially sympathized. When his brother Lucius produced his accounts, Scipio Africanus snatched them from him and tore them into pieces. Lucius, however, was fined and imprisoned, and the conqueror of Hannibal went into exile and there died. The fate of Hannibal was still more sad. After the war was ended he distinguished himself as a statesman as much as he had as a general. He became one of the *suffetes*, and in that capacity resolutely devoted himself to the doing away of abuses, and especially to financial reform. But the friends of corruption were too strong for the patriotic reformer, and he was compelled to take refuge at the court of Antiochus. He, however, seems always to have regarded Hannibal with suspicion and distrust, and at length dismissed him to Pamphylia. After Antiochus

had made peace with Rome he was no longer a protector to be depended upon, and Hannibal fled to Prusias, king of Bithynia. The Romans demanded his surrender; and when he found that he could not escape his inveterate foes he took poison, which he always carried about him, and died in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

During the period which we have now been considering, the national character had by no means improved. The spoils of foreign nations, the annual tributes paid by the conquered, had enriched the treasury, and adorned the capital; intercourse with people of cultivated minds, as well as an acquaintance with their works, had introduced a taste for art and for the refinements of literature, but wealth, especially as it was wealth gained by war, and not by commerce, had brought in its train many more evils than advantages. The old Roman simplicity and frugality were destroyed by wanton waste and self-indulgent luxury, and those constant companions of lavish profusion, avarice and covetousness. Almost all the old patrician houses had become extinct; even the old race of citizens had been half cut off by war, and their places supplied by freedmen, who, as might be expected, had little of the Roman attachment to country or liberty.

The very sources from which wealth was now principally derived helped to loosen the bonds of affection to their native soil. The rich Roman did not look so much to the fields which his ancestors cultivated, as to the allotments of land in distant parts of Italy, to foreign speculations, to unbounded usury, to farming the public revenues, whether at home or in the provinces.

Circumstances now occurred which again involved the Romans in a Macedonian war. Amongst the slight advantages which Philip had reaped from his alliance with the Romans against Antiochus, were some fortresses in Thrace, and some towns in Thessaly. Eumenes, who had succeeded Attalus on the throne of Pergamus, laid claim to the former, and the Thessalians demanded



the independence of the latter. The senate accordingly sent commissioners to examine into the question, and they gave their verdict against Philip. He accordingly sent his son, Demetrius, to negotiate, who had formerly been a hostage at Rome, and was a great favourite with the Romans. The senate received him kindly, but managed to sow the seeds of jealousy between him and his illegitimate, but elder brother, Perseus. Perseus consequently accused Demetrius to his father, and at last persuaded him to poison him; and at Philip's death, Perseus succeeded to the throne.\* On his accession, he strengthened himself by a connection in marriage with a daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, and courted popularity and obtained it; but this popularity proved his ruin. The Romans thought him dangerous, and looked about for an excuse to break with him; nor were they long in finding one. They alleged that he oppressed the towns in Thrace, and that he had attempted to assassinate Eumenes in a mountain pass near Delphi. Anxious as the Romans were for war, Perseus was, nevertheless, the first to declare it,† and he maintained a vigorous and partially successful warfare for about three years.

L. Æmilius Paulus, the son of the general who fell at Cannæ, was sent to Macedonia, and a battle was fought at Pydna,‡ in which, in one short hour, the



COIN OF PERSEUS.

Macedonians were defeated and cut to pieces. Perseus fled, but soon surrendered, and was led as a captive in

\* B.C. 179, A.U.C. 573.

† B.C. 171, A.U.C. 583.

‡ B.C. 168, A.U.C. 586.

the triumphal procession of the conqueror. He died at Alba as a prisoner of war, a victim of privation and cruelty; and the kingdom of Macedonia was divided into four separate states, in which republican governments were established. The inhabitants were subjected to excessively tyrannical regulations, so oppressive in their nature that they rapidly fell into a state of hopeless misery. All means were taken to crush those states which had taken part with Macedon; and Rome found in Æmilius Paulus, whom their historians extol as a mirror of chivalry, a willing instrument of their sanguinary cruelty. On his return through Epirus he plundered the unresisting inhabitants, sacked seventy towns, and sold one hundred and fifty thousand people as slaves. The wealth which was brought into the public treasury from the conquest of Macedonia is said to have amounted to two millions sterling, and the revenue raised from tribute there, and in other conquered countries, rendered it unnecessary to resort any longer to direct taxation. All private wealth, however, was accumulated in few hands, and the masses of the people were reduced to a state of abject poverty. This unnatural separation between the orders of the state by the almost entire extinction of a middle class who were neither rich nor poor, seems to have chilled the national sympathies, and to have increased the demoralization which had already begun. The horrors of continued war, and the opportunities of plunder, had first taught them cruelty and unscrupulous avarice towards the stranger, and had next destroyed all feeling for their fellow-citizens; and wealth, which, if rightly used, might have been for their good, became to them an occasion of falling. Attempts were made by the Antian law in B.C. 181, by the Fannian law in B.C. 161, and subsequently by the Didian and Licinian laws, to check the progress of luxury and extravagance; but sumptuary laws are politically wrong in principle, and therefore have always failed in producing the effect intended.

## CHAPTER XIII.

EXTENSION OF THE ROMAN POWER—DISPUTE AND WAR BETWEEN CARTHAGE AND MASINISSA—NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ROME AND CARTHAGE—THIRD PUNIC WAR—INJUSTICE OF THE ROMANS—HEROISM OF THE CARTHAGINIANS—SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS—SIEGE OF CARTHAGE—DEATHS OF MASINISSA AND CATO—THE PSEUDO-PHILIPPUS—MACEDONIA MADE A ROMAN PROVINCE—WAR WITH THE ACHÆANS—FALL OF CORINTH—PROVINCE OF ACHAIA FORMED—AFFAIRS IN SPAIN—WAR WITH THE SEGEDANS—THE LUSITANIANS REBEL—VIRIATHUS—SIEGE OF NUMANTIA—SERVILE WAR IN SICILY—WILL OF ATTALUS—EXTENT OF THE ROMAN DOMINIONS.

DURING the interval between the Macedonian and the third Punic war, the Romans, by a series of successful wars, were extending their territory both in the north of Italy, and in the neighbourhood of Genoa, as far as Spain, and the Alps. In Spain itself, also, they reduced the different tribes, one after another, to subjection. Let us now consider the causes which led to this fresh rupture with Carthage.

Masinissa had been long a useful instrument in the hands of the Romans to keep down the power of their great African rival.\* During fifty years he had enjoyed the possession of his dominions by the favour of Rome, and he was now still hale and strong at more than ninety years of age. All this time he had been repaying the obligations under which he felt himself to Rome by being a thorn in the side of Carthage.

It must be remembered, also, that against such an adversary Carthage was in a most disadvantageous position. By the terms of the peace the Carthaginians were prohibited from carrying on any war, however necessary to their political existence, without the sanction of Rome. Even measures of self-protection rendered them liable to a declaration of hostilities. At length† a claim was made by Masinissa to the oldest

\* B.C. 152, A.U.C. 602.

† B.C. 150, A.U.C. 604.

settlements of the Phœnicians on the coast of Africa, which, of undoubted right, belonged to Carthage. The rightful owners dared not resist, but appealed to Rome, and Scipio Africanus was sent as arbitrator. He refused to make any decision, and thus things remained as they were. War then actually broke out between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, and the latter put an army of fifty thousand men under the command of a general named Hasdrubal, who was very inferior in skill and resolution to his great namesake. He was compelled to sue for peace, which Masinissa only granted on condition of Carthage recognizing his claims, giving hostages, and paying five hundred talents by annual instalments, to defray the expenses of the war.

The view prevalent at Rome at this period, was the one advocated by the stern old Roman, Cato, namely, that, at all hazards, Carthage should be utterly destroyed. His constant cry was "Delenda est Carthago." P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica and his party were for milder measures; but it is easy to conceive which would be most popular with the multitude. The Romans then, by way of a pretext for commencing hostilities, accused the Carthaginians of breaking the peace by making war upon Masinissa. In vain embassies were sent from Carthage to satisfy the Romans of its fidelity, and to offer any terms in order to secure the continuance of peace. Two consular armies, consisting of eighty thousand foot and four thousand horse, under the command of M. Manilius and L. Marcius Censorinus, were sent to Sicily;\* and the consuls had orders to negotiate with the Carthaginian delegates there. They demanded that three hundred children of the best families should be given up as hostages. This heart-rending condition was complied with, and the Roman armies sailed for Africa and landed at Utica. Again ambassadors met them, who were told that they must surrender their arms, ships, and catapults. This demand was also complied with immediately, and senators and nobles

\* B.C. 149, A.U.C. 605.

followed in mournful procession the waggons which conveyed their means of defence to the consular camp.

The Romans now put a finishing stroke to their injustice. Carthage was to be abandoned and razed to the ground; and if they built a new city it must be ten miles inland. Then their sorrow and indignation knew no bounds; they determined to defend their city to the last drop of their blood; the gates were closed, and all the Italians in the place were tortured and slain. They had no arms, no engines, but they devoted all their energies to supply their loss, and even the women gave their long hair to make ropes for the catapults. Their armies without the walls were intrusted to Hasdrubal, the general who had been unsuccessful against Masiussa, and had, consequently, been exiled, and to Himilco Phameas, who afterwards deserted to the enemy.

During two years the Roman arms made no progress; but in the third year\* the son of Æmilius Paulus, who had been adopted into the family of the Scipios, and was, therefore, named P. Scipio Æmilianus, was elected consul and despatched to Africa. His first object was to render the siege, or rather the blockade, of Carthage efficient, by cutting off the supplies both by sea and land. The energy of the Carthaginians on the other hand, was invincible. When Scipio blocked up the entrance to the port, they made a new one, and actually built a numerous fleet unperceived by the Romans. The following year† the fate of Carthage was sealed. The siege, for horrible scenes and bitter sufferings, may be compared with those of Syracuse and Jerusalem. Famine raged, and to add to the universal misery, the incapable and selfish Hasdrubal acted the part of a tyrannical oppressor towards those whom it was his duty to protect and defend. Scipio was a great man, though not so great a man as his illustrious namesake; and his skill, as a general, showed to the greater advantage, because contrasted with the incapacity of his immediate predecessors.

\* B.C. 147, A.U.C. 607.

† B.C. 146, A.U.C. 608.

Carthage was situated on a peninsula, and was defended by a treble wall running across the isthmus, which joined it to the main land. This was scaled by the Romans under cover of night, and that most dreadful of all fighting, street fighting, commenced, and continued for six days. The Romans drove the wretched inhabitants from floor to floor of the lofty houses, till at last the battle raged on the very roofs. Weak as the inhabitants were from famine, it was rather a massacre than a battle; the streets were choked with the bodies of the slain, and hunger drove the survivors, in their extremity, to feed upon the dead. The Romans fired the city, and all, except the citadel, became a smoking heap of ruins. The conqueror then proclaimed, that all who had taken refuge in the citadel, except the Roman deserters, should be spared if they would surrender. Fifty thousand accordingly came forth as suppliants, and exchanged death for slavery. Hasdrubal and his family, together with the deserters, took refuge in the temple of Æsculapius, which crowned the height of the citadel. Thence he fled alone to the conqueror, deserting his family and his friends, and begged his life. The deserters set fire to the temple, and perished. The heroic wife of the cowardly Carthaginian general cast herself and her children into the flames. Thus fell Carthage, a city nearly a century older than Rome, and far more magnificent. Its destruction affected Scipio even to tears; and he seemed to see in it an emblem of the future ruin of his own native city, and quoted to Polybius, who stood by, the following passage from Homer (*Il. iv. 164*) as applicable, prophetically, to the future fate of Rome:—

“The day will come when holy Troy must fall.”

The remaining buildings were razed to the ground, and the plough passed over its site as emblematical of its utter destruction. The unprincipled Masinissa had died the year before the consulship of Scipio (a year also signalized by the death of that bitter enemy of Car-



thage, Cato): he bequeathed his kingdom to his son, Micipsa.

In the same year in which the third Punic war broke out, Andriscus, a man of low origin, appeared in Macedonia, who gave himself out as the son of Perseus: he is called in history Pseudo-Philippus, *i.e.*, Philip the Pretender. Being unsuccessful, he fled to the court of the king of Syria, Demetrius, who gave him up to the



COIN OF CARTHAGE.

Romans. Out of their hands he escaped to Thrace; he there found supporters sufficient to invade Macedonia, gain two victories, and usurp the title of king. He then penetrated into Thessaly, where the Prætor Q. Cæcilius Metellus gave him battle: he was defeated, taken prisoner, and executed. This disturbance furnished the Romans with an excuse for reducing Macedonia to the condition of a Roman province.

The last days of Grecian independence followed close upon the fall of Carthage. The Achæan league was a confederacy of all the states of the Peloponnesus, in which each had equal influence and power. This equality was, doubtless, unjust to the more powerful states; and Sparta wished to be independent of the league. The confederacy was holding its meetings at Corinth, and ambassadors from Rome demanded the independence of Sparta and some other places. The ambassadors were assaulted, or at least insulted; and after some fruitless negotiations, the league declared war against Rome and Sparta. The Achæans, however, had so long enjoyed security under the patronage of Rome, that they were not prepared for war. Metellus was now in Macedonia, but he hastened southward, and an Achæan army, raised on a sudden, untrained, ill-disciplined, and composed partly of slaves, marched to oppose his entrance into Greece;—they, however, retreated before him, and were pursued and conquered.

Metellus then took Thebes, which was deserted by its inhabitants on his approach, and proceeded on his march

to the Isthmus of Corinth. Diæus, the general of the Athenians, fled before him, and left Megara to his mercy. Before, however, he could reach the Isthmus, Mummius, the consul, had arrived. In a skirmish of cavalry the Achæans were successful, and this so elated them that they volunteered a general engagement, in which they were entirely routed, and Diæus fled and afterwards poisoned himself. Mummius immediately entered Corinth unopposed, plundered it of its magnificent specimens of Greek art, its marbles, ivories, and bronzes, and sent them off by sea to Rome to adorn his triumph.\* Mummius received the honorary title of Achaicus.



COIN OF CORINTH.

Greece even lost its name, and was formed into a Roman province called Achaia; only Sparta and Athens, the former of which had been on the Roman side, and the latter had taken no part in the war, were permitted to retain the privileges of free states.

Although the evacuation of Spain by the Carthaginians had left the Romans no enemies to cope with, except the natives, yet these uncivilized tribes continued to cause them a great deal of trouble. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, whose disposition displayed the gentleness and kindness which characterized all the members of his illustrious race, had attached the Celtiberians, who inhabited the modern province of Arragon, to the Romans, by his mild and considerate administration. According to the conditions of peace which he had granted them, they had bound themselves to build no more fortified towns; the Segedans, however, wished to enlarge their city, and the Romans declared, that this would be virtually a contravention of the treaty. The obstinacy of the Segedans occasioned a war: sometimes the Romans were victorious, at other times they were beaten. The consul, M. Claudius Marcellus, attempted to procure peace for them, but the senate insisted on unqualified submission.

\* B.C. 146, A.U.C. 608.

Marcellus, who possessed great influence with the Spaniards, persuaded them to make such concessions as the Romans required, and they thus obtained an honourable peace.\*

The Lusitanians, who inhabited the southern half of Portugal, were provoked to rebellion by the cruelty and tyranny of L. Lucullus, the successor of Marcellus. They were conquered by Sulpicius Galba, the prætor; and although they surrendered under a promise from Lucullus that their lives should be spared, Galba caused them all to be massacred.† His countrymen saw the unpardonable injustice of which he had been guilty; he was brought to trial by Cato, and would have been executed had he not begged that mercy might be shown him for the sake of his infant children.

Viriathus was one of those who escaped the massacre of the Lusitanians. He was, like most of his countrymen, a bandit, and in order to avenge the death of his people, he put himself at the head of a band of followers, and harassed the Romans with a petty kind of guerilla warfare, in which the Spaniards seem to have been as skilful then as they are in modern times. So successful was he that he obtained an honourable peace, securing to the Lusitanians the undisturbed possession of their country. But Q. Servilius Cæpio, the consul, treacherously broke the peace, and caused Viriathus to be assassinated.‡ The Lusitanians having lost their leader, in whom they had implicit confidence, were soon subdued, and the whole country subjugated.§

The Numantine war is more celebrated in the annals of Rome, than those of which mention has just been made, from the defeats which the Romans experienced in it, and from the last brave struggle of this heroic people. The consul, Q. Pompeius, was often conquered, and even his camp taken, so that he thought it prudent to grant them an honourable peace.|| Another Roman

\* B.C. 152, A.U.C. 602.

† B.C. 150, A.U.C. 604.

‡ B.C. 141, A.U.C. 613.

§ B.C. 138, A.U.C. 616.

|| B.C. 143, A.U.C. 611.

general, C. Hostilius Mancinus, was caught in a *cul-de-sac*, and was glad to sue for peace.\* So formidable was this enemy considered, that Scipio Æmilianus was elected consul solely with a view to finishing the war.† With an army of sixty thousand he invested and blockaded the little city which contained a population of four thousand men able to bear arms.

The brave Numantines tried in vain to break through the Roman lines. Provisions were floated into the town, down the stream of the Douro, on the banks of which it was situated; but at last this resource was stopped by Scipio, and he reduced it by famine, but not until the living had been driven by stern necessity to feed upon the corpses of the dead. One little town in their neighbourhood, Lutia, sympathized with them, and offered aid, and the savage conqueror, in revenge, cut off the hands of four hundred young Lutians. Few, when the place surrendered, survived, for the nobles had slain themselves, their wives, and children, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the Romans. Legends tell, that not a single Numantine survived. The victory was considered of sufficient importance to confer the title of Numantinus on the conqueror.

In the year preceding the destruction of Numantia,‡ a fearful insurrection of the slave population broke out in Sicily. War had created such havoc among the free inhabitants, that there were not sufficient left for the cultivation of the soil. Innumerable prisoners of war had poured in to supply the vacuum thus caused, and consequently all Italy, Sicily, and Greece, were inundated with slave labour. These miserable victims were cruelly treated by their unfeeling masters. The rich Romans who farmed the state-domain lands, the native Sicilians who rented them of the new proprietors, ground them to the dust, and thought only of making the estates which they held produce to the utmost. So refined and gratuitous was the barbarism of the con-

\* B.C. 137, A.U.C. 617.

† B.C. 133, A.U.C. 621.

‡ B.C. 134, A.U.C. 620.

querors, that they made these unfortunates unnecessarily feel their degraded condition, and condemned them to work in chain-gangs, as if they were convicts, and not captives.

Many of these slaves were of good birth and free spirit; they had fought bravely, though unsuccessfully. These insults, therefore, provoked them to take vengeance on their persecutors; and their revenge was marked with that bloodthirsty rancour which, whether in ancient or modern times, in America or Hayti, have always characterized servile wars. The country was desolated, all signs of cultivation obliterated, the free population massacred, the rich and fertile island deluged with blood.

Under the command of Eunus, a Syrian, who called himself their king, and Cleon, a Cilician, an ill-disciplined band of seventy thousand slaves commenced a desultory warfare, and by their numbers and savage fury, rather than by any military skill, struck terror into the Romans, and even gained some victories over them. So alarming was the crisis, that a consular army under P. Rupilius was sent to quell the insurrection.\* They had by that time got possession of two important fortified towns, Taurominium (Taormini) and Enna. The consul retook the former, and drove them back to the latter. There he completely routed them: twenty thousand were slain, a large number crucified, and Eunus was thrown into prison, where he died.

About this time,† the Romans acquired an accession of territory in the East, which eventually led to the establishing the Roman province of Asia. Attalus, the wealthy king of Pergamus, died, and bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. The will was disputed by his illegitimate brother, Aristonicus, who, after maintaining his ground against two consuls in succession, P. Licinius Crassus and M. Perpenna, was defeated by the latter, and carried prisoner to Rome, where he was strangled.

\* B.C. 132, A.U.C. 622.

† B.C. 133, A.U.C. 621.

Let us now pause for a moment to contemplate the wide extent of the Roman dominions. They possessed the whole of Italy as far as the Alps, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Malta, and the Balearic Isles; on the other side of the Adriatic, Epirus, Illyricum, Macedonia, Thessaly, and Greece, were reduced to the form of Roman provinces. Spain, which had been wrested from the Carthaginians, was, after a long and difficult struggle with the native tribes, completely subdued by the taking of Numantia. The dominions of Carthage on the coast of Africa were incorporated in those of Rome: and lastly, the kingdom of Pergamus was constituted a province of Rome; whilst the sovereigns of Pontus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, on the north, were under the influence of the empire, and Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia on the south, held their independence at the will of the Roman senate and people.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

DISTINCTIONS OF RANKS AT ROME—LITTLE SYMPATHY BETWEEN RICH AND POOR—NOBLES AND NEW MEN—POLITICAL CONVULSIONS IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES—BIRTH AND EDUCATION OF THE GRACCHI—TIBERIUS IN AFRICA AND SPAIN—HIS FIRST SYMPATHY WITH THE POOR—ELECTED TRIBUNE—HIS MEASURE OF REFORM—EXTENSION OF THE FRANCHISE PROPOSED—THE LAW OF GRACCHUS PASSED—CANDIDATE FOR THE TRIBUNESHIP A SECOND TIME—RIOT AND MURDER OF GRACCHUS—REIGN OF TERROR—DEATH OF PAPIRIUS CARBO—CHARACTER OF C. GRACCHUS—HIS POOR LAW—HIS MILITARY REFORMS—HIS JUDICIAL REFORMS—HIS PLAN FOR EXTENDING THE FRANCHISE—SEDITION OF C. GRACCHUS—HIS DEATH.

A REMARKABLE change had by this time taken place in the constitution of the Roman people. The old distinction of patrician and plebeian no longer remained: there had been a long time previously (A.U.C. 580) two plebeian consuls; there were, in A.U.C. 622, two plebeians filling the powerful and formerly purely patrician office of censors. Blood and race, therefore, evidently no longer made any difference. Most of the old patrician families had died out. Niebuhr believes that, at this



period, not more than fifteen patrician "gentes" remained; and the individual members of those who remained, if they maintained their position at all, maintained it by virtue of wealth or personal merit, or owed it to the fact that their immediate ancestors had held high and distinguished offices in the state. Each man owed his distinction either to the honourable services of his father or grandfather, or to his own worth; it mattered not whether his pedigree was patrician or plebeian.

The rank of senators or knights depended upon property. If the wealth of an individual entitled him to either rank, he was enrolled in it; if the property of a senator or a knight became deteriorated below the legal standard, he was degraded to the rank below.

Plebeians held the consulship and censorship; and patricians, like the Gracchi, stood forward as plebeian tribunes, and champions of popular rights. Still there were two orders of the state; there was an arbitrary line of demarcation drawn between them as strongly as ever, although it was drawn on a different principle. Doubtless it is better that the barrier should not be an impassable one, like that of birth, but it is hopeless to expect that some barrier or other will not exist. If it does not exist by the terms of a constitution, men in a social state will create one for themselves.

We have seen already, that the boundary line between rich and poor had become very broad and deep by the accumulation of wealth in few hands; and thus between these two orders, there was as little sympathy as there had been between the patrician creditors and plebeian debtors, in the earlier times of the Republic. There was now another distinction of a more aristocratic nature than that of wealth, and, practically, almost as exclusive in its working as that of patrician and plebeian. Those families, whether patrician or plebeian, the members of which had held high public offices, were called noble (*nobiles*). Those individuals

whose families had never been so distinguished were termed new men (*novi homines*); and so great was the influence of the noble families, and so trustworthy a pledge was hereditary merit wisely considered for ability and fidelity in the discharge of high functions, that, only in a few exceptional cases, was the consulship, although open to all without distinction, attained by a "new man."

It is not probable that, however slow and gradual their growth, such extensive constitutional changes could have been established without giving birth to great political convulsions. The reader, therefore, will be prepared for this, and not be surprised at the terrible crisis which now ensued, and which furnished a field for the patriotic exertions of those illustrious brothers, the Gracchi.

Both by the father's and the mother's side, the noblest blood of Rome flowed in their veins. The kind and gentle Tiberius Gracchus, whose influence with the Celtiberians has been already mentioned, married Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus Major. Three children survived to them, out of a family of twelve; two sons, Tiberius and Caius, and one daughter, Sempronia, who became the wife of P. Scipio Æmilianus. Like most great men, the Gracchi inherited their talents and the nobleness of their disposition from their mother, and owed the cultivation of them to their having been educated under their mother's care. Greek philosophers aided her in this work; and the accomplished Lælius did much towards giving them that graceful polish for which they were afterwards distinguished.

Tiberius, who was nine years older than his brother, was born about B.C. 169.\* When he arrived at manhood, he accompanied his brother-in-law to Africa; and thus, in the camp of that great general, received his military education, whilst his mind was formed by his society and intimacy. The confidence which the

\* A.U.C. 585.

Spaniards reposed in his father, led the Numantines to request that he might be sent to them, to treat respecting the conditions of peace ; and so beloved was he by them, that they treated him more like a friend than as an ambassador from their enemies.

It is said that he was first struck with the oppression of the poor by the richer classes, and the evils resulting from the excessive accumulation of wealth, on passing through Etruria on his way to Spain. He conceived that there was a remedy for this evil in a modified revival of the obsolete provisions of the Licinian law. This law, it will be remembered, enacted that no one should occupy more than five hundred jugera of the public land belonging to the state, or feed upon the common pasture land more than one hundred head of large and five hundred head of small cattle. The state had, of course, full power to enforce this law ; but it would have been an injustice to do so. The abuse had been allowed to exist for upwards of a century. Families had been permitted the undisturbed possession of a beneficial interest, amounting to nine-tenths of the amount produced (for the rent paid was only one-tenth). To have resumed the lands would have amounted to confiscation. It would have been a measure similar to the compulsory forfeiture of ecclesiastical leases without compensation to the holders.

At the age of thirty-six years, Tiberius Gracchus offered himself as a candidate for the tribuneship,\* and was elected. The measure of reform which he proposed was as lenient a modification of the Licinian law, as was consistent with remedying a crying evil which threatened the stability of the empire. He proposed that any one might hold five hundred jugera, and two hundred and fifty more for each of his sons (not exceeding the number of two) who were still under the parental authority. All buildings, on the lands to be surrendered, were to be paid for by the state. The only real grievance in this measure was, that to those

\* B.C. 133, A.U.C. 621.

who had purchased their holdings of others, the forfeiture of them was a total loss. But, then, it is to be remembered, that under an illegal state of things, in which the public were decidedly injured, any reform must have implied a compromise between the rights of the state and those of the tenants. Nor does the compromise offered by Gracchus appear to have been an unfair one. Nevertheless, as might be expected, it met with unqualified opposition on the part of the wealthier classes, who were the holders and occupiers of the domain lands. It is said, also, with great probability, that he meditated an extension of the franchise. This was a wise measure. The middle class was annihilated; there were none but the very rich and the very poor. The latter were sunk to that lowest degree of political corruption which only values a vote at the price for which it will sell. The object of Gracchus, then, was to create a new middle class, by giving the full franchise of all the comitia to the intelligent inhabitants of the municipal towns in Italy, to the Latin colonies and the Italian allies.

The principal opponents of Gracchus were P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Q. Pompeius; and they persuaded M. Octavius, one of the tribunes, who would have been a sufferer by the measure, to *veto* the bill. The step which Gracchus took in order to counteract their intrigues was a false one, because it was unconstitutional. He persuaded the people to resort to the unprecedented measure of deposing Octavius. The term agrarian law is generally looked upon with horror, because in the present day it is popularly used in a sense which implies plunder and confiscation, whilst, under the Roman system, it had a totally different meaning. The law of Gracchus now passed, and the two brothers, together with A. Claudius, were appointed commissioners for carrying it into effect.

Just at this conjuncture, the news of Attalus's will arrived at Rome, and Gracchus proposed that the legacy should be divided among the new holders of the

state domain (*ager publicus*), to enable them to stock their farms.

The time for the tribunitial elections had now arrived, and Gracchus, feeling that his life was not safe when he no longer enjoyed the inviolability of the tribuneship, offered himself a second time. Two tribes had already voted in his favour, when the faction of Scipio stopped the proceedings. He was now aware that he was in imminent peril. It must have been a sad sight to see him leading his little son by the hand, canvassing for protection for himself and his child.

Next day, there was a report that the senators were about to assassinate him. The people rose in his defence. Nasica and his party published a calumnious report, that he had assumed the hated title of king, and pronounced him guilty of high treason. They then armed themselves with fragments of the scaffolding which had been erected for the election, and attacked Gracchus and the few who surrounded him. He was first stunned, and then murdered, and his corpse, with those of three hundred others, flung into the Tiber.

All civil commotions are dreadful; and when once blood has begun to flow, it is very difficult to dam up the stream. But it was the opponents of Gracchus, and not Gracchus himself, who were responsible. They struck the blow. The Gracchians were unarmed, and made no resistance. They did not fall in a fray, or in a sedition, or in endeavouring to effect a revolution. They were murdered. There is but one point in which the conduct of Gracchus was indefensible. His reform was not only salutary but necessary, nor was it unjust; but no measure should be carried except by constitutional means. In no case will the end justify the means. His deposition of the tribune was unconstitutional. He ought, therefore, to have trusted to the justice of his cause; have persevered, with a resolute but patient determination, and have waited for an opportunity of carrying his measure in a legitimate way. This he did not do; and, though his error does

not palliate or excuse the conduct of his opponents, it cost him his life, deluged his country with blood, and damaged the cause of liberty.

Those who could not separate the maintenance of aristocratic ascendancy from the maintenance of abuses, approved of the murder, and Scipio considered his noble brother-in-law a traitor. He exclaimed, in the words of his favourite poet,—

“Thus may all others die who dare such deeds;”  
*Odys.* i. 47;

and Cicero, and most historians, have united in representing Gracchus as having met the fate which the author of a bloody revolution richly deserves.

The next consulship\* was a reign of terror. P. Popilius Lænas commenced a series of proscriptions. Thousands of innocent men were thrown into prison, and hundreds slain, some with barbarous tortures, one by being thrown into a trough full of venomous serpents. Although M. Fulvius Flaccus was appointed to the commissionership, vacant by the death of Gracchus, nothing seems to have been done, with reference to the agrarian law; but the popular party appears to have gained strength daily, and laws to have been passed in the course of the next few years, circumscribing the power of the senate, and greatly increasing that of the people.

C. Papirius Carbo was a man of talent, but unscrupulous, and prepared to carry the liberal principles of Gracchus to a vicious extremity. He was appointed to a place in the agrarian commission, and his measures were vehemently opposed by Scipio Africanus. That night Scipio retired to prepare an oration, which he intended the next day to deliver publicly, but in the morning he was found dead. Whether his death was natural can never be determined. It was strongly suspected that he was poisoned, and even his mother and his wife were suspected of the murder. If he died a

\* B.C. 132, A.U.C. 622.



violent death, the most probable suspicion is, that he was strangled by his opponent Carbo.\*

The other measure proposed by Tiberius Gracchus, namely, the enfranchisement of the Italian allies, was strenuously opposed by the senate and the aristocratic party. The consul, M. Fulvius Flaccus, who had succeeded Gracchus as a member of the board of commissioners, brought forward the bill, but it was thrown out, and was met by an alien act brought in by M. Junius Pennus, one of the tribunes. This provoked some of the Italian states to hostilities; Fregellæ, which had taken a leading part amongst them, was besieged, and razed to the ground. C. Sempronius Gracchus was sent as quæstor to Sardinia, and Flaccus to Gaul, to carry on war against the Salluvii, who had invaded Marseilles, simply in order to get them out of the way.†

The following year,‡ C. Gracchus returned from Sardinia, without leave, intending to take a part in political affairs. He was now thirty years of age; his talents were greater and of a more popular kind than those of his brother; his eloquence, polished and graceful; his Latin style less stiff and crabbed than that of his contemporaries, and approaching more nearly to the cultivated and classical Latin of the Augustan age. The amiability of his family had shown itself in his care for the personal comforts of the soldiery; and his sympathy for suffering led him to devote himself, in an unselfish spirit, to the same political career as his unfortunate brother. But though superior in talent, and equal in political honesty, his temper was too warm, and he was too prejudiced, and too much of a partisan to be a statesman. He was, however, immediately elected tribune, and commenced his career as a reformer.

His first two measures were dictated by a desire to punish his brother's enemies. One enacted, that no one who had been deposed from any public office should be eligible for any other, but this he withdrew; the other,

\* B.C. 129, A.U.C. 625.

† B.C. 126, A.U.C. 628.

‡ B.C. 125, A.U.C. 629.

that if any one put a citizen to death, who had not been legally sentenced, he was liable to be brought to trial. Lænas, who was suspected of having been one of his brother's murderers, saw that this law was directed against himself, and therefore fled his country, and Gracchus showed that this law, which he proposed, was a personal one, by causing him to be interdicted from Italy.

The next measure of C. Gracchus was a poor-law. The principle of it is the same as that on which many of our parochial charities of the present day, commonly called "Penny Clubs," are based. Its object was to relieve the poor, without making them paupers, or destroying their feeling of self-dependence. He proposed that the people should be allowed to purchase a certain quantity of corn every month, at one quarter of the market price. This was a charity much wanted at the time, for the lower orders were suffering the greatest poverty and distress; at the same time it was not politically inconvenient, as the supplies of corn from the provinces were immense; and to exchange even a portion of its value for money, would augment the resources of the treasury. It did not require much increase of wealth, as it contained nearly sixty millions sterling. Neither did those who possessed property need assistance, for there was now no direct taxation of any kind to press upon them.

That practical talent which examined into the little personal comforts of the army in Sardinia, and which reminds us of the attention to the smallest details in these matters, which the great mind of the Duke of Wellington considered as important as other duties of a general, was applied also to the expenditure of the state resources. He carried a bill to provide arms and clothing for the soldiers, and employed the labouring classes in road-making, and other public works.

The next reform introduced by C. Gracchus was in the administration of justice. Under the Roman judicial system, the prætor presided in court with a certain number of assessors, who gave their verdict like our jurymen.

These assessors, or jurymen, were called judges (*judices*), and were chosen from the senators. Experience proved, not only that, in their determination to stand by their order, they were guilty of partiality, but that they had also been open to bribery and corruption. The knights (*equites*) constituted the nearest approach which could be found to a rich middle class; Gracchus, therefore, by his new law (*lex Sempronia*), transferred the administration of justice to a body of three hundred men chosen from the equestrian order. This was a salutary change; but so corrupt was the whole framework of Roman society, that it did not prove effectual. The Publicans (*Publicani*), who farmed all the revenues of the provinces, were all Roman knights. The new judges, therefore were as anxious to shield the peculations and extortions of their own brethren, as the old ones had been. For this failure, however, Gracchus was unquestionably not responsible. He could not have gone lower in the scale of society, for the populace was depraved and demoralized beyond expression, for which reason he entirely abolished the court of the assembled people, which had existed up to this time.

He also, like his great brother, saw that the time had arrived, in which the safety of Rome was involved in the extension of the franchise. This was, in fact, a conservative measure. The corrupt populace of Rome required the infusion of a new intelligent element. Now the Latin towns were famed for their cultivation and refinement; he proposed, therefore, that they should be admitted to the full privileges of Roman citizens, and that the Italian allies should be permitted the enjoyment of the Latin franchise (*Jus Latii*), *i. e.*, the voting in the assemblies of the people. In fact, the wise object at which he was aiming, was to make Rome coincident, not with the capital only, but with the country of which it was the capital.

Such is a brief outline of the efforts of C. Gracchus during the short space of two years,\* in which he held

\* B.C. 123, 122, A.U.C. 631, 632.

the tribuneship ; he also proposed to found two colonies, with assignments of lands in Italy. The senatorial party opposed him vigorously, but in vain : at length they determined, as a last resource, to bid higher for popular favour. They made a tool of M. Livius Drusus, one of his colleagues, whom they persuaded to promise twelve colonies instead of two. The stratagem was successful, and when at the conclusion of his second tribuneship, Gracchus retired into a private condition, stimulated, perhaps, by his warmth of temper, he endeavoured to maintain his diminished popularity by an act of treason and sedition. Uniting himself with M. Fulvius Flaccus, whose character was already compromised, they with a band of followers, armed with daggers, rushed to the capitol. A man, who perhaps gave some provocation, was slain. The consul Opimius was his bitter enemy, and summoned him to appear on a charge of murder. Instead of obeying, he, Fulvius, and their followers, took possession of the Aventine. He was now in arms against the government of his country. The senate refused to negotiate with a rebel, and the Aventine was stormed and taken. Fulvius was slain, Gracchus fled across the Tiber to the Grove of the Furies, and there at his own request was killed by one of his own slaves. A terrible proscription followed, in which three thousand were put to death. Opimius had offered its weight in gold to any one who would bring him the head of Gracchus. A stranger, named Septimuleius, claimed the reward, and craftily filled the head with lead, in order that it might weigh the heavier.

The Gracchi were honest, zealous, affectionate patriots, but they were destitute of that patient forbearance which endures many disappointments, and is willing to wait its proper opportunity. This defect in their character, added to the strength of the opposite party, and the reaction which often takes place when the tide of popular feeling turns, rendered their legislation ineffectual. Their laws either became obsolete from neglect, or were formally repealed.

## CHAPTER XV.

EARLY HISTORY OF JUGURTHA—HIS CONDUCT TO HIS COUSINS—INTERFERENCE OF ROME—THE JUGURTHINE WAR COMMENCES—METELLUS AND C. MARIUS—CONSULSHIP OF MARIUS—ALLIANCE OF JUGURTHA WITH BOCCCHUS—CONCLUSION OF THE WAR, AND EXECUTION OF JUGURTHA—ORIGIN OF THE CIMBRI—THEY ENTER CISALPINE GAUL—CONSULSHIPS OF MARIUS—HE RESTORES THE DISCIPLINE OF THE ARMY—INTRODUCES THE NEW SYSTEM OF TACTICS—THE TEUTONES DEFEATED AT AIX—DEFEAT OF THE CIMBRI—TRIUMPH OF MARIUS—HIS CHARACTER—TRIBUNESHIP OF SATURNINUS—HIS MEASURES—SIXTH CONSULSHIP OF MARIUS—SEDITION AND DEATH OF SATURNINUS—SECOND SERVILE WAR IN SICILY.

WE must now return from the interesting period of the Gracchi to the old story of foreign wars. Micipsa had succeeded his father Masinissa, and dying in B.C. 118,\* had bequeathed his kingdom to his sons Hiempsal and Adherbal, and his illegitimate nephew Jugurtha. When Jugurtha was a youth, Micipsa, jealous of his great talents, sent him to Spain to serve under Scipio in the Numantine war, hoping thus to get rid of him. He became, however, so great a favourite with the Roman general, that he gave him, on his return, letters commendatory to Micipsa. He, therefore, in order to please the Romans, associated him with his sons as heir to the throne.

The intention of Micipsa was, that the three should govern as colleagues, but, unable to agree, they divided the kingdom amongst them. Jugurtha then assassinated Hiempsal and deprived Adherbal of his dominions. The deposed chieftain implored the protection of the Romans, but the senate were not proof against the bribes of Jugurtha; and the commissioners, who were sent to Africa to settle the boundaries of the kingdom, gave to Jugurtha the best share. He soon after besieged Adherbal in Cirta, the old capital of Numidia.

\* A.U.C. 636.

The garrison, which consisted principally of Italians, advised him to surrender on condition of his life being spared, but the faithless Jugurtha caused him to be tortured and put to death.\*

Jugurtha now reigned supreme, but it was impossible for the senate to avoid taking notice of this atrocious act. L. Culpurnius Bestia, therefore, was sent to Africa to commence war. But the bribes of Jugurtha purchased peace, and he was allowed to retain his unjust usurpations on making a nominal submission.†

In B.C. 109,‡ Q. Cæcilius Metellus was consul, and commanded the army in Africa against Jugurtha. He was too honest to be bribed, and too proud to submit to his subtle adversary. Like Scipio, he restored the discipline of the army, and although he met with some reverses, his campaign, which continued two years, was upon the whole a brilliant one. His lieutenant-general was the celebrated C. Marius, whose rise to eminence, notwithstanding all obstacles, was as remarkable as his genius was unsurpassed.



COINS OF METELLUS.

Marius was a native of the municipal town of Arpinum, where his parents were poor and of humble station. In his youth he served in the ranks of the Roman army.

\* B.C. 112, A.U.C. 642.

† B.C. 111, A.U.C. 643.

‡ A.U.C. 645.



He was promoted successively to the post of centurion and military tribune, and was afterwards, although a "new man," elected to the prætorship, the duties of which he discharged with great zeal and ability. Plutarch relates that the predictions of a Syrian prophetess, in whom he had a superstitious confidence, induced him to become a candidate for the consulship. When he announced this intention to Metellus, he, who with all his good qualities could scarcely see merit in any but those of his own order, not only refused him permission to go to Rome for the purpose, but treated him with scorn and derision. Accordingly he went without leave, and applying all his popular talents to flatter and please the people, he was elected consul and sent to supersede Metellus in the conduct of the Jugurthine war.\*

Jugurtha, in the meanwhile, made an alliance with Bocchus, king of Mauritania, whose daughter he had married: but Bocchus, with that treacherous duplicity which seems to have characterized the African sovereigns, determined to consult his own welfare by giving up Jugurtha. Marius then laid siege to Capsa, a strongly fortified town in the interior, and reduced it to a surrender; but, contrary to the rules of war, as Sallust admits, he cruelly massacred the inhabitants and burnt the town, merely because the place was difficult of access to the Romans and a convenient quarter for Jugurtha. After this, in two general actions he defeated the allied sovereigns, and sent his quaestor, the infamous L. Cornelius Sulla, to negotiate with Bocchus, who betrayed Jugurtha into his hands. The war was thus finished in the sixth year of its duration. Numidia was added to the Roman province of Africa. Jugurtha and his two sons adorned the triumph of the conqueror, and were afterwards executed in prison.†

The year in which the war with Jugurtha was brought to a conclusion was signalized by the births of Cn. Pompeius and M. Tullius Cicero.

\* B.C. 107, A.U.C. 647.

† B.C. 106, A.U.C. 648.

The Roman empire was now menaced by a terrible danger near home. The Cimbri were a numerous Celtic tribe, belonging to the same family from which were descended the Welsh, the Picts, the inhabitants of Cornwall, and some of the Irish. After various migrations, in which they had been driven backwards and forwards, like the waves of a vast ocean, by the natives with whom they came in contact, they settled in the forests of Germany, between the Alps, the Rhine, and the Danube. They had hovered on the frontiers of Noricum, and had even defeated a consular army in Illyricum.\* In Germany they united themselves with a German tribe called the Teutones, and both together attempted to force a way into the Roman province of Transalpine Gaul. Consul after consul was defeated, and the possessions of the poor provincials overrun and plundered by these warlike barbarians.

The next step to be feared was that the Alps would be crossed, and Italy devastated. The Romans were in dismay, and all eyes were turned to Marius, as the fit person to cope with these formidable adversaries, and he was immediately elected to the consulship,† and continued in it during the three following years. He began operations by putting his army in a complete state of discipline, a measure which always seems to have been necessary when any fresh emergency arose, unless preceding commanders had been strict and rigid disciplinarians.

This state of things was to be expected. Rome itself, which furnished the levies, had become, as has been stated, morally degenerate, and therefore discipline alone could make them good soldiers; added to this, the effect of successful foreign service was to complete the demoralization already begun. In remedying the evil, Marius displayed his genius as a general. His experience as a common soldier made him fully aware of the frightful extent of the mischief; his talent and tact suggested the remedy.

\* B.C. 115, A.U.C. 639.

† B.C. 104, A.U.C. 650.

Niebuhr, with good reason, asserts that Marius was the author of that modern system of tactics which tended so much to the successes of Cæsar. The legion was no longer drawn up in three ranks, but in a species of phalanx, the files of which were ten deep, together with a reserve of the same kind; their arms were the pilum or spear seven feet long, and the short broad sword. The light companies and the cavalry were separate from the legion. The army which he thus disciplined and drilled consisted of his African veterans, and recruits from the lowest ranks of the people, and with them he marched against the enemy.

They had now divided their forces. The Teutones were in Gaul, the Cimbri had marched to Noricum, both with the intention of invading Italy. The former were defeated by Marius at *Aquæ Sextiæ* (Aix).<sup>\*</sup> The battle lasted two whole days, at the end of which they were entirely destroyed, and their chief taken prisoner. The Cimbri almost simultaneously made their way through the Tyrol, crossed the Adige, poured their barbarian hordes into the plains of Lombardy, and drove Catulus and his army before them. It is said that they slid down the steep sides of the mountains, using their shields as sledges. Marius went to Rome and despatched his army through Liguria to join that of Catulus. The honour of the consulship was now conferred on him for the fifth time, and he and Catulus joined forces in July.<sup>†</sup> They then crossed the Po with an army of more than fifty thousand men. The Cimbri had suffered much from fever during the hot and unhealthy season. Where the decisive battle was fought is doubtful. The name of the field was *Campi Raudii*, its situation probably near Verona. Plutarch has multiplied the myriads of the Cimbrian hordes to a fabulous extent, and has described tactics which would have been absurd. He says the Cimbri were drawn up in a square of many miles, and bound together by strong chains. They, like their Teutonic allies,

<sup>\*</sup> B.C. 102, A.U.C. 652.

<sup>†</sup> B.C. 101, A.U.C. 653.

were completely annihilated. Those who escaped from the field with life were either taken prisoners or committed suicide.

The triumph of Marius was one of the most splendid in the annals of Rome, and he received a still higher reward,—one unexampled, except in the case of Valerius Corvus, for he was elected consul for the sixth time.

Marius had now reached the summit of his glory. He does not shine in the character of a statesman as he did in that of a warrior. He was a man of irritable temper, and the roughness which was due to his low origin and early pursuits not having been softened by the refinements of a liberal education, made him implacable and unforgiving. He despised literature, as those often do who are ignorant of its blessings. Again, the consciousness of his talents and merits, joined to that of the inferiority of his position by birth, made him highly sensitive of provocation, or even opposition, from those of higher rank. His pride was the pride of low birth. He bore a deadly hatred to those above him, merely because they were above him. He could not bear to be neglected; he hungered after popularity. His successes in war fully satisfied this craving after distinction: when peace came he still clung to his love of applause, and rather than lose it became a demagogue. He espoused his political party, not from a conviction of its rectitude, but from a dread of falling from that pinnacle of greatness to which public favour, though well earned and well deserved, had raised him.

A new era had now commenced. The Gracchi were patriots, and legislated because they sincerely and honestly felt that the reforms which they proposed were absolutely necessary for the safety of their country. Those who, in the times of Marius, sought the favour of the people by their legislation, were not patriots but demagogues. Under a pretence of patriotism they veiled the satisfaction of violent passions—they thirsted

not for honourable fame, but for power; they wished to rule, and thus their new ambition led in a very few years to the bloody proscriptions of Sulla, to the tyranny of the triumvirate, and finally to the overthrow of the republic, and the establishment of the empire.

L. Apuleius Saturninus was a man of noble plebeian family, a desperate revolutionist, and utterly destitute of principle. He had held the office of quæstor of the port of Ostia, and consequently had the sole control of the supply of corn for Rome. In this position he had enriched himself by speculation, and was therefore cashiered.

It frequently happens, that in times of strong political excitement the worst men get the upper hand. Saturninus stood for the tribuneship, and was elected.\* His legislation was such as to curry favour with the populace, and thus place him at the head of a party; but the wild violence with which his measures were carried was worse than the measures themselves.

One of his bills was for the founding of new colonies; and, in order to attach Marius to his party, he proposed that he should have the privilege of nominating three individuals in each to receive the full Roman franchise.

Marius, to whom power and popularity were the very breath of life, fell into the snare, and gave him his support. Another bill was for the distribution of lands north of the Po, and to this he added a rider, that the senate should swear to carry the law into effect. Marius at first refused, but afterwards took the oath. Metellus, the same under whom Marius had served in Africa, sternly refused; Saturninus, therefore, placed him under an interdict, and he went into exile. Marius now, who, with all his faults, could not attach himself to so profligate a politician, left the party of Saturninus.

The hands of this wicked man were again stained with noble blood.† He determined that Servilius

\* B.C. 100, A.U.C. 654.

† Ibid.

Glaucia, who had been his accomplice when prætor, should be elected consul; they consequently excited a riot, and murdered the opposing candidate, C. Memmius. It was in this crisis that Marius was elected consul the sixth time, for the express purpose of crushing the revolutionary party. He saw that nothing less than vigorous measures would avail; he therefore besieged them in the Capitoline temple, and having cut off their supply of water, compelled them to surrender, and they were executed. The laws of Saturninus were repealed; and Marius, after causing the recall of Metellus, retired into private life and went over into Asia. The name of Saturninus has gone down to posterity with the detestation he deserves, as one whose sole object was to aim a fatal blow at the liberty of his country.

Contemporaneously with these events\* a second servile war broke out in Sicily, owing to the partial conduct of the prætor, P. Licinius Nerva. He had emancipated all the slaves who were Roman provincials, and retained the foreigners in slavery. A fearful outbreak ensued, and for three years the Roman armies were unable to cope with the number and bravery of their wretched enemies; at last their leader, Satyrus, was slain, themselves reduced to a state of famine, the rebellion was terminated, and all slaves were, for the future, prohibited from bearing arms. One bright spark gladdens this dark era of demoralization. In the Punic war, we have seen that human victims were occasionally offered; a law was passed in the year B.C. 97,† by which they were abolished for ever.

\* B.C. 102-99, A.U.C. 652-655

† A.U.C. 657.



## CHAPTER XVI.

DISFRANCHISEMENT OF RESIDENT ITALIANS—BILL OF LIVIUS DRCUS—  
HIS ASSASSINATION—SOCIAL OR MARSIC WAR BREAKS OUT—STORMING  
OF ASCULUM—CONCLUSION OF THE WAR—RISE OF SULLA—ENMITY OF  
MARIUS—ORIGIN OF MITHRIDATIC WAR—PROPOSAL OF SULPICIUS—  
SULLA MARCHES UPON ROME—HE OUTLAWS MARIUS—SULLA CROSSES  
OVER INTO GREECE—MITHRIDATES CONQUERED—CINNA PROPOSES THE  
LAW OF SULPICIUS—FLIES THE CITY—HIS RETURN—MASSACRE AT  
ROME—SEVENTH CONSULSHIP OF MARIUS—HIS DEATH—TYRANNY OF  
CINNA—HIS DEATH—SUICIDE OF FIMBRIA—RETURN OF SULLA—LAST  
EFFORT OF THE MARIANS—CRUEL SLAUGHTER OF PRISONERS—PRO-  
SCRIPTION—SULLA CREATED DICTATOR—HIS POLITICAL MEASURES—  
CHARACTER OF SULLA.

In early times it had been the wise policy of Rome to widen her empire, and at the same time to strengthen her influence, by gradually, as occasion required, extending her franchise: thus her tribes were increased to thirty-five. Jealousy of her Italian allies had induced Rome now, for a long time, to give up this wholesome practice. Yet these Italian allies were advancing in wealth, intelligence, refinement, power, and consideration. No statesman could shut his eyes to the fact, that emancipation from civil disabilities was a right, and therefore could not fairly be withheld; but still a petty jealousy and groundless apprehensions impeded the progress of political justice. At length, as always will take place in such cases, that which would have been gratefully accepted as a boon was demanded as a right, and the demand enforced by an appeal to arms, which deluged in blood the most flourishing portions of the Roman dominions.

Some natives of the Italian allied states had from long residence in Rome been enrolled in the census as Roman citizens, and thus, by usage, although not by right, had acquired a franchise. In the consulship of L. Licinius Crassus and Q. Mutius Scævola,\* a most injudicious law

\* B.C. 95, A.U.C. 659.

was passed, the effect of which was to disfranchise these quiet and unoffending persons. The discontent thus commenced at Rome spread through Italy. A few years after this, M. Livius Drusus, one of the tribunes, not only proposed a measure for a better mode of appointing judges, or jurymen, but also one for the enfranchisement of the Italian allies. The enthusiasm awakened by this amongst the allies, knew no bounds, and the best and most prudent statesmen at home were inclined to give him their support. Both the senatorial and equestrian orders, however, were opposed to him, and as violence now seems to have been a common method for getting rid of a troublesome political opponent, he was assassinated, and his laws repealed. The Italians were now in despair, and their despair drove them to extremities.

Notwithstanding the opposition which Drusus had met with on the part of the senate, as well as of the knights, the principal sympathizers with the allies appear to have belonged to that body. For when Varius, a tribune, carried by popular violence an inquiry as to who had held communication with the Italians, some of the best senators were condemned. The senate, therefore, from regard to the expediency, if not the justice, of complying with the claims, supported the cause of the allies; the knights, from personal hatred to Drusus and to the senate, and the populace, from mean and petty jealousy, strenuously opposed the act of emancipation.

Soon, therefore, the Social or Marsic war, as it is called, broke out.\* A federal union was formed, of which the following nations were members:—the Apulians, Hirpinians, Lucanians, Marsians, Piceni, Pelignians, and Samnites. None of the Latin colonies, except Venusia, joined the league. Its citizens enjoyed a more liberal franchise, and were not unlikely to obtain a full Roman franchise, without having recourse to violent measures. Their fidelity was rewarded with this privilege by the Julian law, in the first year of the war. The confederates formed themselves into one great republic, elected a

\* B.C. 90, A.U.C. 664.

senate of five hundred, two consuls, and twelve prætors. The first consuls were Silo, a Marsian, and Mutilus, a Sabine.

The armies were commanded by the consuls L. Julius Cæsar and P. Rutilius Lupus, the prætor, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, grandfather of Pompey the Great, and the consular legati, Marius and Sulla. The consuls were unsuccessful, and Lupus was slain. Pompey gained the first decisive victory in the second year of the war near Asculum, stormed and took that town, and massacred the inhabitants.\* The lieutenant-generals, Marius and Sulla, were also victorious over the Marsi. The Italians applied for help to Mithridates, king of Pontus, who promised to grant it to them when he had subjugated Asia Minor. This threat may have had some influence in inducing the Romans to make the concessions which they did at the conclusion of the war. The Samnites and Lucanians were the last to continue the contest; but these at length submitted, and thus Rome established her supremacy in a bloody struggle, which cost the Italians three hundred thousand lives.†

However, in the end, the franchise of Roman citizens was granted to all the inhabitants of Italy, south of the Po, and they were incorporated into ten new tribes, precedence in order of voting being still reserved to the original thirty-five tribes. The inhabitants of Italy, north of the Po, received at the same time the franchise which the Latins had hitherto enjoyed (*Jus Latii*).

The abilities of Sulla had greatly contributed to the successful termination of the war, and the veteran Marius found in him a formidable rival in that popular favour which he idolized. They hated each other, therefore, with a bitter hatred. It cannot, however, be said that Sulla unfairly supplanted his rival in the command of the Mithridatic war, or that Rome ungratefully passed over one to whom she was so deeply indebted. Sulla was a man of undaunted courage and great talents; his brilliant success in a war, the issue of which once

\* B.C. 89, A.U.C. 665.

† B.C. 88, A.U.C. 666.

appeared doubtful, pointed him out as the future leader of the armies of the republic. He was now in the prime of life, and Marius was seventy. Marius was not generous or unselfish enough to give up personal distinction and power to a younger and more energetic man.

The following was the origin of the war with Mithridates, which was intrusted to L. Cornelius Sulla, as consul.\* The king of Pontus, by his influence in Asia, had conferred the kingdom of Cappadocia upon a relation of his own. The Romans then induced Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, to commence war upon Mithridates, but the former was vanquished and deposed. The Romans accordingly levied a large but ineffective army in Asia, which was defeated; and all the Roman and Italian residents in Asia were massacred. Upon this the Asiatic monarch, who was a man of enterprising spirit, marched a large army into Greece, which was, upon the whole, favourably received.

The dying embers of the Social war, which were not yet entirely extinguished, rendered it necessary that Sulla should go to Nola before marching against Mithridates. In his absence, P. Sulpicius, one of the tribunes, of whose talents and accomplishments Cicero speaks in the highest terms, proposed that the command in the Mithridatic war should be transferred to Marius. The senate had, according to custom, assigned the province to Sulla; Sulpicius affirmed that the right belonged to the people. Having, therefore, previously, by violence, passed a law that the new citizens should be incorporated in the old tribes, he, by his influence with them, carried the annulling of Sulla's appointment. Sulla, however, determined not to submit, and, persuading his army to espouse his cause, he marched with six legions into Rome. This was the first example of the political interference of the army, which afterwards caused the establishment of the empire, and the investing the military commander (imperator) with the supreme civil authority.

The other consul Q. Pompeius, joined Sulla, and when

\* B.C. 88, A.U.C. 666.

they were very near the city, the senate sent delegates forbidding them to advance within four miles of the gates. Sulla halted and pretended to comply, but no sooner were the delegates gone, than he advanced and began the assault. Rome was never strongly fortified, and the walls in many places had been suffered to go to decay. He therefore easily effected an entrance. Marius, Sulpicius, and their supporters fled, and the Sullan legions marched straight by the Via Sacra to the Forum.

Next morning Sulla assembled the Senate, and procured a sentence of outlawry against Marius, his son, Sulpicius, and others. Sulpicius was betrayed by a slave, executed, and his head affixed to the Rostra. Marius fled to Ostia, thence to the marshes of Minturnæ. There he was discovered and imprisoned. The authorities of Minturnæ sent a Cimbrian slave to kill him. The man recognized him, and dared not kill the conqueror of his nation. The old veteran then escaped to Africa, and took refuge amongst the ruins of Carthage; a sad example of the instability of human prosperity, the lust of power, and the unscrupulous desire of popularity.

So little use did Sulla make of his power to influence the comitia, that Cinna, who was well known as an opponent, was elected consul;\* Cn. Octavius, a supporter of the aristocratic party, being his colleague. Sulla now sailed for Greece, as proconsul; and Rufus, who had been consul with him, was sent to supersede Cn. Pompeius in the command of the army in Italy; but the latter instigated his soldiers to murder him, and thus retained the command.

The career of Sulla was marked by his usual brilliant success. Bœotia was rapidly subdued; Athens blockaded and reduced by famine, and then stormed and plundered. Its treasures of literature and art were shipped off to Rome. Archelaus, the general of Mithridates, fled to Chæronea, and the Piræus, which he had deserted, was destroyed by fire. Sulla then pursued Archelaus: two decisive battles, one at Chæronea, the other at Orcho-

\* B.C. 87, A.U.C. 687.

menus, followed in rapid succession, and Mithridates purchased peace by the surrender of his fleet, the entire evacuation of Greece, and defraying the expenses of the war.\*

Cinna, immediately after Sulla's departure, again proposed the law of Sulpicius for the enrolment of the Italians in the thirty-five tribes, and an armed host of these new citizens flocked to the forum to support the measure. Octavius opposed force by force, much blood was shed, and Cinna was compelled to fly the city. The senate most unconstitutionally declared the consulship vacant, and L. Cornelius Merula was elected in his place.† Cinna was supplied with money by his Italian friends, and thus he was enabled to bribe the troops which were encamped at Nola, and who had so lately fought for Sulla, to espouse his cause. Marius, also, to whom notice had been sent by Cinna of the state of affairs, landed in Italy, and by displaying his misery and destitution, enlisted the sympathies of the people in his favour, especially those of Q. Sertorius and Cn. Papirius Carbo. The united armies of Cinna and Marius now amounted to more than one hundred and fifty thousand men. For a time Cn. Pompeius wavered as to which side he should take, but at length he obeyed the summons of the senate, and marched to Rome. A battle was fought without any decisive result. Pestilence mowed down the ranks of the assailing force, and famine began to do its work within the walls. Pompeius fell a victim to the former, and his corpse was insulted and mangled by the populace, so universally was he detested (as Cicero says) both by gods and men.

The senate now felt it necessary to come to terms. Cinna was restored to his consulship, and promised a general amnesty. No sooner, however, was he reinstated, than he broke his word, and gave free licence to the bloodthirsty revenge of his partisans. Massacre and violence raged through the streets of Rome for five days. Marius gloated over the very sight of butchery

\* B.C. 84, A.U.C. 670.

† B.C. 87, A.U.C. 667.



and murder. One of the first victims was Cn. Octavius, the consul. The eloquent M. Antonius soon followed. Catulus suffocated himself with charcoal, and Merula bled himself to death in the sanctuary of the Capitol. In the raging thirst for blood, even the wife and children of Sulla were sought for, but they escaped to some place of safety. Marius caused his sentence of outlawry to be reversed, and himself and Cinna to be appointed consuls. Scarcely, however, had he entered upon his seventh consulship, when death put a period to his blood-stained career, in a fit of wild delirious passion.\* Some say his madness was the incoherent raving of remorse: if so, how terrible is it to contemplate the aged victim of bad passions, indulged unresistingly, increasing in strength year by year, and at last terminating in the agony of despair!

The domination of Cinna was now, in every respect, a tyranny. The constitution remained nominally; the consuls were regularly appointed, but he himself filled the office four years successively. His creatures and partisans occupied all places of authority; the administration of justice was paralyzed, personal liberty jealously controlled, and there was a vast army to back him in Italy. Cinna, in his last consulship, determined to pursue the advantage which he had gained, by an expedition against Sulla, who was just concluding the Mithridatic war in Greece; but the army refused to go, a mutiny broke out, and Cinna was slain.

Immediately on the death of Marius, L. Valerius Flaccus, the other consul, had been despatched to Asia in order to supersede Sulla, but was assassinated by his own lieutenant-general, C. Flavius Fimbria, who then usurped the command. Sulla, just at that time, had granted Mithridates peace; he therefore marched against Fimbria, who, despairing of maintaining his ground against so experienced a general, committed suicide. After settling the affairs of Asia, and raising an immense subsidy, Sulla determined to return home.

\* B.C. 86. A.U.C. 668.

He landed at Brundisium,\* and proceeded, without opposition, as far as Capua. There he found the consul, C. Julius Norbanus—who, as well as his colleague, L. Cornelius Scipio, was a Marian in politics—and engaged and defeated him. The whole army of Scipio deserted, and influential supporters joined his cause; amongst whom was Pompey the Great, then a young man, who resided and possessed great influence in Picenum.

The next year, Cn. Papirius Carbo was consul,† with C. Marius, the adopted son of Marius, who was as bad a man now, at twenty-seven, as the elder Marius had become in his old age. The latter was posted to prevent the entrance of Sulla into Latium; but he was defeated at Sacriportum, with the loss of twenty thousand men, and fled to Præneste. Sulla blockaded the town; but soon after he left Q. Lucretius Ofella to prosecute the siege, and proceeded to Rome. At the time of the battle of Sacriportum, another horrible massacre had taken place by the Marian party, but when Sulla arrived the authors of it fled.

As a last effort, the Marian party, joined by the Samnites and Lucanians, gave battle to Sulla near the Colline Gate. M. Crassus routed the left wing of the enemy, but a panic seized the rest of Sulla's army, and, when night came on, they imagined they had lost the battle. But soon tidings arrived of Crassus' success, who had pursued the flying enemy to Antemnæ; and, when morning dawned, it was found that the Samnite general, Telesinus, had fallen by his own hand, that his brother and Marius had killed each other, and that the enemy had retreated.

The dark side of Sulla's character now showed itself; a cruelty, as savage as that of Marius, stains the brilliance of his talents as a general. He followed Crassus to Antemnæ, and thence sent to Rome eight thousand prisoners, with orders to slaughter them in cold blood; and he himself hastened to Rome, and

\* B.C. 83, A.U.C. 671.

† Ibid.

entered the senate-house whilst the massacre was going on. The shrieks of his murdered victims were audible in the house whilst he was coolly speaking. This bloody revenge was only a beginning of horrors. He made and placarded a list of those whom he doomed to death, and thus the term proscription and proscribed became proverbial. A price was set upon their heads, their property confiscated, and their descendants disqualified for the public service for ever. When vengeance was glutted, avarice still remained to be satisfied, and the possession of wealth was sufficient reason for the shedding of innocent blood. On the surrender of Præneste, which quickly followed, twelve thousand more victims were butchered, and many other flourishing towns of Italy were treated with the same indiscriminate cruelty. In this frightful civil war, two thousand six hundred Roman knights perished, of whom the greater part were victims of the proscription, and some, probably, like Norbanus, were driven to suicide.

Sulla was intoxicated with success, and assumed the vain-glorious title of Felix, or the Fortunate, and so completely were all orders of the commonwealth under his power, that he caused himself to be declared perpetual dictator; M. Tullius Decula, and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, being merely nominal consuls for the year.\* The first object of Sulla now was to form a military despotism; and with that view he established twenty-three military colonies, consisting of those legions who had helped him to power. Amongst these he apportioned the possessions of the proscribed, and of the different Italian cities which he had depopulated. His next step was to strengthen himself in the comitia, by enrolling ten thousand slaves in the tribes. These were continually reminded by the name of Cornelia, which they bore, according to custom, after their emancipation, that they were to be devoted to his interest. Thirdly, he secured to himself support in the senate by filling

\* B.C. 81, A.U.C. 673.

the vacancies in that body with those of the equites who were his own adherents, and at the same time attached them to him, by restoring to them the privilege of having the judices again selected from them, instead of from the equestrian order.

Perhaps the most important of Sulla's changes, as respected the senate, was the increase of the number of quæstors, or lords of the treasury, to twenty. These were annual officers, and had a seat in the senate, which they retained for life. Very few persons, therefore, could gain admission to the senate, except through this official channel. The senate was, therefore, now almost entirely an elective body, and by Sulla's influence over the elections, he could secure the return of his own tools and creatures. At the same time he cramped the free action of the people by limiting the power of their own representatives, the tribunes. After completing his reform, he resigned the dictatorship. Although he was ambitious, he loved ease and self-indulgence better than anything; he was rich, he felt that his influence and power were now independent of official position; he therefore abdicated and retired to Puteoli, and professed himself ready to give an account of his administration. He knew well that no one would venture to take him at his word.

His retirement was passed in the strange union of literary pursuits and depraved licentiousness. His solitary hours were devoted to writing his own memoirs, his social ones to the company of profligate actors. He died in the sixtieth year of his age, of the same loathsome disease as Herod, "He was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost" (Acts xii. 23).<sup>\*</sup> He was honoured with a magnificent public funeral, the greatest and noblest in Rome joined the procession, the soldiers marched as its escort, and Roman matrons threw perfumes on the funeral pile.

Sulla was a man of great talents, but his successes were even more brilliant than his abilities. His taste

<sup>\*</sup> B.C. 78, A.U.C. 676.

was polished and refined, but he delighted in the grossest licentiousness. He was not a vain man like Marius, but his pride disdained to sympathize with



COIN OF SULLA.

human suffering, and would not brook opposition to his will. He waded to power through oceans of blood, not from a mere bloodthirsty delight in cruelty, but because he was careless of the means so that he could attain his end, and because he was determined to make a terrible example of all who presented any obstacle to his career of success. He was a warm friend towards those who would sacrifice everything in his cause, whilst to those who thwarted him he was a bitter hater, an unforgiving enemy, and implacable in his revenge.

## CHAPTER XVII.

MITHRIDATES DEFEATS THE ROMANS—PEACE CONCLUDED—EFFECT OF MILITARY COLONIES IN ITALY—LEPIDUS SENT TO GAUL—HIS REBELLION AND DEATH—SERTORIUS—HIS PREVIOUS HISTORY—HIS FAWN—HIS POLICY IN SPAIN—WAR AGAINST HIM—HIS ASSASSINATION—WAR WITH SPARTACUS—CONSULSHIP OF POMPEY THE GREAT—HIS POPULAR MEASURES—TRIBUNI AERARII—POMPEY INVESTED WITH THE COMMAND AGAINST THE PIRATES—HIS SUCCESS—CONDUCT OF METELLUS TO THE CRETANS—THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR—CAMPAIGN OF LUCULLUS—POMPEY COMMISSIONED TO CARRY ON THE WAR—DEATH OF MITHRIDATES—SYRIA MADE A ROMAN PROVINCE—JERUSALEM TAKEN—TRIUMPH OF POMPEY.

THE treaty of peace with Mithridates had never been ratified by the senate. When, therefore, the check of Sulla's presence was removed, the Asiatic monarch refused to surrender the whole of Cappadocia to Arrio-

barzanes, according to the terms agreed upon. L. Muræna, who commanded in Asia Minor, was then sent to enforce compliance.\* A battle was fought near Sinope, and the Romans were defeated; they were, therefore, glad to make peace, permitting Mithridates to retain part of the territory in question.

Whilst at Rome wealth had accumulated in the hands of those who were spending it in profuse luxury and selfish licentiousness, the establishment of the military colonies had reduced the whole of Italy to abject poverty;—the miserable inhabitants, therefore, having nothing to lose, were ripe for any outbreak, thinking that if any change or revolution took place, it must be for the better.

When Sulla died, M. Æmilius Lepidus and Q. Lutatius Catulus were consuls. Lepidus had become rich by the purchase of confiscated estates at a nominal price, and had been a warm partisan of Sulla. Catulus also belonged to the same party, but he was more honest and disinterested than his colleague; he, therefore, at this crisis, stood firm to his party and his principles. Lepidus, on the other hand, from what motives it is impossible to say, came forward as a supporter of the popular cause, and an opponent of the aristocracy. He first proposed that all the measures of Sulla should be annulled. The senate, alarmed at the prospect of another revolution and civil war, compelled the consuls to swear that they would not decide their differences by an appeal to arms; and, when the year of his consulship expired, they sent Lepidus as pro-consul to Gaul.

This was exactly what he wanted; he found himself at the head of an army which he reinforced by the beggared landowners and peasants of Etruria, and marched almost to the gates of Rome. Catulus gave him battle, and gained an easy victory: he fled to Sardinia and died of disease. An attempt at insurrection was at the same time made by M. Junius Brutus, the father of Caesar's murderer, in Cisalpine Gaul; but he

\* B.C. 83, A.U.C. 671.



was taken and put to death at Mutina (Modena), by Pompey. Thus was this sedition quelled without further bloodshed; and Catulus did not disgrace his victory by proscription and massacre.

One of the most remarkable, as well as the most straightforward, of the Marian party, was Q. Sertorius; he was a native of the Sabine valley of Nursia (Val di Norcia), in the Apennines, and possessed that manly courage and severe simplicity of ancient manners which distinguished the Sabines generally, and his native district in particular.

In Spain, whither he had gone when prætor,\* he gained the good will of the Spaniards and Lusitanians, by an honest attention to their interests; but he could not maintain his ground against the troops of Sulla, because his army was tampered with and deserted him. He was thus obliged to fly for his life, first to Lusitania, and afterwards to Africa; where, in order to give his adherents employment, he aided a popular insurrection against the king of Mauritania, took Tingis (Tangier), and gained great booty. On the death of Sulla, his old friends, the Lusitanians, whose Roman governors were Sullanians, invited him to return and protect them against the extortion and rapacity from which they were suffering.

He accepted their invitation, and was for some time successful against the Roman generals who were sent out against him. He is said, by Plutarch, always to have been accompanied by a tame fawn, to which the superstition of the natives attached a supernatural character. On one occasion it was lost by accident, and the recovery of it infused such spirit into the army of Sertorius, that they considered it an omen of victory, and being led against Pompey, defeated him with the loss of six thousand men.

His policy in Spain was a very wise one, namely, first to raise the natives to a social equality with the Romans, and then to amalgamate the two nations poli-

tically. With this view he established a school at Osca, in the north-east of Spain (Huesca in Arragon), for educating the sons of the principal Spaniards. The boys were taught Latin and Greek, and lived and dressed like Romans. He also selected a senate of three hundred, into which, probably, he would have admitted, when fitted for it by habits and education, the most distinguished provincials. The foundation of this school is connected with one of those acts of horrible cruelty which were such foul blots on the character of the Romans. Sertorius considered the children as hostages for the good behaviour of the parents: and his suspicions being excited by some acts of disaffection, he caused all these poor boys to be put to death. This destroyed all the confidence which the Spaniards had hitherto reposed in him, and eventually led to his ruin and death.

The first antagonist of Sertorius was Q. Cæcilius Metellus,\* the son of Metellus Numidicus, and surnamed Pius (Dutiful), because of his filial affection; he was a better man than general. Sertorius contemptuously called him an old woman; perhaps with more reason than he called Pompey a boy.

Pompey came out,† with a reinforcement of thirty thousand foot and one thousand horse, and, though only a knight, was associated in the command on equal terms with Metellus. He was generally unsuccessful, and, on one occasion, in a battle at the river Xucar (Sucro), only saved his life with difficulty, and with the loss of his war-horse. Sertorius, however, was hard-pressed, and looked abroad for aid. He sent two Romans, who had escaped the proscription, to propose an alliance with Mithridates. The proposal was accepted on the following terms: that, in case of success, Mithridates was to have all Asia Minor, and that he was to aid Sertorius with his fleet, and insure him the support of a horde of pirates, whose head quarters were in Cilicia, and who infested the whole of the Mediterranean.

\* B.C. 79, A.U.C. 675.

† B.C. 76, A.U.C. 678.

The career of Sertorius now came to a close.\* M. Perperna, one of the legati of Marius, had fled to Spain in B.C. 77,† and joined Sertorius. He had hoped to occupy a leading position, but his own followers compelled him to act under the command of Sertorius. This inferiority always rankled in his breast, and, forming a conspiracy with nine others, he invited Sertorius to a feast, given in honour of a victory which they pretended had been gained by one of his generals, and assassinated him at table. Thus a treacherous murder terminated a war which defied the combined exertions of Metellus and Pompey.

Owing to the extent of the Roman empire, the events which took place in different portions of it so interlace with one another, as to render it impossible long to maintain uninterruptedly the thread of the history. The year before the war of Sertorius was concluded,‡ two classes of men, victims of the two worst institutions which can ever disgrace a state, namely, gladiators and slaves, threatened the safety of their oppressors.

Spartacus, a Thracian slave, at the head of seventy others, who were being trained for the express purpose of killing one another in the circus, for the amusement of the Roman people, rose in open rebellion at Capua. They were soon joined by ten thousand armed slaves. Brave by instinct, and bloodthirsty by education, and lashed to fury by the sense of their degradation and wrongs, these barbarians laid waste the whole country round with fire and sword. The consuls, L. Gellius Poplicola and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus,§ were defeated, and C. Cassius, who had been consul the previous year, met with the same fate. At length,|| M. Licinius Crassus, the prætor, vanquished the three divisions of their army, one after the other, killed Spartacus and half of them, and lined the roads with their impaled limbs and bodies. Pompey, on his way from Spain, met the fugitives, and finished their destruction.

\* B.C. 72, A.U.C. 682. † A.U.C. 677. ‡ B.C. 73, A.U.C. 681.

§ B.C. 72, A.U.C. 682.

|| B.C. 71, A.U.C. 683.

The distinguished career of Pompey had laid his country under great obligations, but he had as yet held no public office which qualified him for being a candidate for the consulship. He was a favourite with the people, because of his brilliant military reputation, and with the senate, because he belonged to the party which supported their order. When, therefore, the senate passed a decree to allow him to stand for the consulship, without having been previously quæstor and prætor, he was elected,\* together with M. Licinius Crassus, the conqueror of Spartacus. His first acts, as consul, were of a popular tendency:—(1) The restoration of the tribuneship, which Sulla had abolished; (2) The supporting L. Aurelius Cotta in a law which he passed for adding to the orders from which the judges were selected, a lower class, namely, the "Tribuni Ærarii."

These were selected from those citizens whose fortunes were less than those of knights and senators, but who still possessed moderate means. The public official position which they occupied, and from which they derived their name, was that of paymasters of the army. These arrangements rendered necessary the restoration of the censorship, in order to determine to which order each individual belonged. There was, therefore, evidently on the part of Pompey, an attempt to return to the old Roman institutions; and although the severity with which the censors excluded many from the senatorial order gave offence, his reforms were in a right direction.

But his country required his services abroad as well as at home. It has already been stated that the Sicilian pirates were a terror to the whole Mediterranean. These sea-bandits carried on their robberies on an extensive and systematic plan; they possessed a fleet much more numerous than those of the maritime states, and it was manned by all the lawless ruffians of Asia and the neighbouring islands. Their depredations were not

\* B.C. 70, A.U.C. 684.

confined to the high seas, but they were audacious enough to plunder the southern coasts of Italy, to attack towns, and on one occasion, to burn the ships in the Roman harbour of Ostia itself.

The Romans had long taken measures to punish these bold marauders. They had sent P. Servilius, M. Antonius, and L. Metellus, in succession, to crush them; but the evil was as rife as ever. Upon this,\* Aulus Gabinius, one of the tribunes, moved that a commission should be issued to some individual, for three years, with full power to take such measures as he thought necessary for bringing the war to a successful termination. Popular feeling unanimously pointed to Pompey, as the only general qualified for the honour. The senate, alarmed at such power being conferred on a single person, opposed. Disturbances seemed likely to ensue; the law was passed, and Pompey received the command.

Early in the next year,† he set sail, and stationed squadrons, under his numerous admirals, in different ports of the Mediterranean. He made but two expeditions; in the first, which was finished in less than six weeks, he cleared of the pirates all the western part of the Mediterranean, as far as Sicily. He then, after a few days' rest, drove them eastward to their fortresses and strongholds, in their rocky and mountainous country of Cilicia, sank their ships, and, in seven weeks, reduced them to submission. He followed up this rapid success by settling them in some deserted towns and unoccupied districts in the interior of Asia, and thus gave them an opportunity of gaining their livelihood in an honest way. Thus he added to his military fame, by that wise humanity which is the most glorious ornament in the laurel wreath of the conqueror.

To this conduct of Pompey, that of Metellus, who had been sent to conduct the same war some years before, presents a striking contrast. The Cretans, who enjoyed the unenviable reputation of being the

\* B.C. 67, A.U.C. 687.

† B.C. 66, A.U.C. 688.

greatest liars and villains of ancient times,\* were pirates as well as the Cicilians, and were consequently attacked by Metellus. When they heard of Pompey's clemency, they sent to him a delegate offering unqualified submission. Pompey, whose commission superseded that of Metellus, immediately ordered a suspension of hostilities; but Metellus refused to obey, succeeded in taking the island, and treated the inhabitants with the greatest cruelty and severity. It was long before the Romans granted Metellus the honour of a triumph; but it is to be feared that this was in order to punish him for disobeying orders, and not for his merciless cruelty.

The Romans were at this time engaged in a third war with Mithridates. This had broken out in consequence of the alliance which, as has already been mentioned, he made with Sertorius. A numerous army and the wealth of an oriental treasury enabled him for nearly five years to maintain his ground, and, in some instances, to gain advantages over the Romans. When, however, Lucullus was sent to oppose him,† his fortunes began to change.

The name of Lucullus is generally connected with wealth, and pomp, and self-indulgence, and luxury, but he was an able and distinguished general. He first compelled Mithridates to fly for refuge to the capital of his son-in-law, Tigranes, king of Armenia,‡ and then pursuing him, and conquering every place in his way, he shut up the two sovereigns within the walls of Tigranocerta. The city was taken, and Tigranes fled.§ He was again defeated at Artaxata; and Lucullus at last halted and took up permanent quarters at Nisibis in Mesopotamia. Here mutiny and rebellion amongst his troops prevented him from following up the victories which he had hitherto gained.

Lucullus was succeeded by the consul M. Acilius Glabrio,|| and received the honour of a triumph. In

\* See St. Paul's Ep. to Titus, i. 12.

† B.C. 71, A.U.C. 683.

‡ B.C. 74, A.U.C. 680.

§ B.C. 69, A.U.C. 685.

|| B.C. 67, A.U.C. 687.



this campaign he accumulated enormous wealth, and learnt to live in habits of Oriental luxury.

Glabrio, either from incapacity or want of energy, did nothing, and C. Manilius, a tribune,\* proposed that Pompey's commission should include also the command in chief of the Mithridatic war. This bill was opposed by the aristocratical party, but it was eloquently advocated by Cicero, in his speech for the Manilian law, and carried.†

The result showed the wise policy of this measure. Pompey defeated Mithridates, who fled to the Cimmerian Bosphorus. An incident occurred here which illustrates the horrible tyranny of oriental despots towards their children. His son, who was satrap or pasha of the Bosphorus, committed suicide from fear of his father's approach. Pompey could not pursue his flying enemy through these countries inhabited by hostile tribes, and Mithridates actually formed the daring design of invading Italy as the Persians had formerly invaded Greece. This proved his ruin. His soldiers were in dismay, and his own son, Pharnaces, excited a mutiny against him. Mithridates, in despair, took poison and so died. Pharnaces actually sent his father's corpse to Pompey; who, with his usual generous humanity, ordered that it should be buried as became a king. Tigranes then purchased peace by paying six thousand talents and surrendering almost all his kingdom. Part of it was conferred on his son, who, as is so frequently the case in Asiatic history, was in open rebellion against his father.

Pompey having successfully terminated the Mithridatic war, marched by way of Armenia to Phoenicia, Syria, and even as far as Egypt. He deposed the king of Syria, and made the country a Roman province. Jerusalem was at this period the scene of civil strife between two brothers who were claimants for the high-priesthood. Their names were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. The Roman general laid siege to the

\* B.C. 66, A.U.C. 688.

† B.C. 63, A.U.C. 691.

holy city, which soon surrendered: the temple, however, was not taken until after a siege of three months.\* The conqueror made Hyrcanus high-priest, and took Aristobulus with him, a prisoner, to adorn his triumph. This year was the birth-year of Cæsar Augustus.

When Pompey set foot on Italian ground,† after having accomplished the task for which he had been invested with such extraordinary powers, he nobly dismissed his army, and arrived at Rome unattended except by a grateful people.‡ Unparalleled honours were heaped upon him; and the numberless trophies which he brought with him rendered his triumph one of the most splendid in the annals of Roman history.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

AGE IN WHICH CATILINE APPEARED—HIS CHARACTER—HIS ASSOCIATES—HIS FIRST AND SECOND CONSPIRACIES—CICERO ELECTED CONSUL—TREACHERY OF FIMBRIA—CICERO'S LIFE ATTEMPTED—CATILINE LEAVES THE CITY AND JOINS MANLIUS—THE PRINCIPAL CONSPIRATORS PUT TO DEATH—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF CATILINE—PREVIOUS LIFE OF CICERO—EARLY LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR—HE FILLS THE DIFFERENT MAGISTRACIES IN SUCCESSION—GOES TO SPAIN—IS ELECTED CONSUL ON HIS RETURN—INDUCES POMPEY TO JOIN HIS POLITICAL PARTY—THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE—AGRARIAN LAW OF CÆSAR—OPPOSITION OF CATO—CLODIUS—CÆSAR'S CAMPAIGNS IN GAUL.

DURING this period of national triumph, when the limits of the empire had been extending, and Roman arms had been victorious from the Pillars of Hercules on the west to Mesopotamia on the east, and from the Tanais on the north to the Nile on the south, demoralization, both social and political, had been proceeding with giant strides. The republican constitution was now a mere name. Plain, old-fashioned Roman virtue and patriotism existed no longer. Office was the prize of the highest bidder; the people sold their votes; a few wealthy individuals struggled for power,

\* B.C. 63, A.U.C. 691.

† B.C. 62, A.U.C. 692.

‡ B.C. 61, A.U.C. 693.

and all things were rapidly tending to that condition in which the only safety is a despotism.

This period of awful profligacy gave birth to one in whom all the characteristics of the age in which he lived were concentrated,—L. Sergius Catiline. All other characters of history have had their accusers and defenders; even the ferocious Robespierre has not wanted some to palliate and excuse his crimes. But the unanimous verdict of mankind has stamped Catiline as a monster rather than a man. He presents a fearful instance of the best natural gifts abused by a depraved and vicious disposition.

Possessing a herculean frame and brilliant talents, undaunted courage, an invincible faculty of endurance, and a fiend-like power of fascination, which his associates were unable to resist, even though they saw it was luring them to their ruin, he had in early life attached himself to the party of Sulla, and had served with distinction under his standard. During the proscription he murdered either his brother or his brother-in-law, and, subsequently, his own wife and son.

But a course of licentiousness and profligacy had wasted his substance: he was now a ruined man. He was ripe for revolution and bloodshed; he had nothing to lose, he could not gratify his vicious propensities without wealth, and he had no principles, no scruples as to the means of gaining it; his most promising prospects were in anarchy, proscription, and confiscation.

Whilst his personal qualifications pointed him out as a leader, the degeneracy and extravagance of the times found him an abundance of accomplices. The debauched and ruined nobleman, and the vulgar profligate of the lowest class, forgot their mutual differences and joined him, and he formed a conspiracy, the members of which were the sink and offscourings of society.\* The primary object of this plot was to assassinate the consuls, and some of the leading senators;

\* B.C. 65, A.U.C. 689.

but his own impatience defeated the plan which he had laid ; for he gave the signal too soon, and his intended victims escaped destruction. Next year he was accused of malversation in the province of Africa, which he had administered as pro-prætor ; but by profuse bribery, he purchased an acquittal. The year following\* he was audacious enough to become a candidate for the consulship ; but the celebrated orator, M. Tullius Cicero, although he was a new man, and C. Antonius, were elected.

Simultaneously with his canvass, he had formed a second conspiracy, the objects of which were most tempting to his band of impoverished profligates, namely, the cancelling of all debts, and the proscription of the wealthy. His disappointment, on account of the failure of his first plot, lashed him into a fury, and nothing now would satisfy him but to burn Rome to the ground, and assassinate all his opponents. Meanwhile, he made preparations for an outbreak ; formed magazines, and occupied positions in various parts of Italy ; the head-quarters being under the command of C. Manlius, one of Sulla's experienced officers. One of his confederates was Q. Curius, a weak as well as a wicked man, who intrusted the secret of the plot to his paramour Fulvia. She disclosed it to Cicero, and furnished him with regular information respecting the proceedings of the conspirators.

Knowing, by this means, their plans, and that he himself was marked out as their chief victim, Cicero kept continually on the watch, and never went out except guarded. In October he accused Catiline as a traitor openly in the senate ; and the house, alarmed, invested him and his colleague with power to do all that the exigencies of the state might require. Shortly afterwards a party of the conspirators presented themselves at the house of Cicero, who were to assassinate him, under the pretence of a complimentary visit ; but owing to the information received, they were refused

\* B.C. 63, A.U.C. 691.

admittance. The same month the revolt began at the camp of Manlius.

In November, Cicero met the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, and by a torrent of indignant eloquence, raised such a feeling against Catiline, that he rushed from the temple, left the city, and joined Manlius. The next day Cicero addressed his second Catilinarian oration to the people. Catiline was outlawed, and Cicero hailed as "Father of his Country." Lentulus Cethegus, and others were then seized, and kept under surveillance; the senate met on the nones (the fifth) of December, and a decree was passed for the capital punishment of the traitors; they were accordingly put to death in the dungeons of the Capitol.

Catiline himself did not escape long. His army, with the exception of five thousand, were but half armed, and many deserted his standard, when the news that the conspirators had been executed, reached his camp. His only hope of safety was to retreat by the passes of the Apennines into Cisalpine Gaul. But Metellus, the prætor, cut off his retreat in that direction,\* and he was forced to turn round and face the army of C. Antonius, the consul.

Antonius, whose sincerity labours under some suspicion (for when Catiline was a candidate for the consulship, he had coalesced with him to keep out Cicero), refused to fight, and the command devolved on his lieutenant-general, Petreius. The rebels fought like desperate men, and the battle was obstinate and bloody. Catiline and three thousand were slain on the field. Not one Roman citizen surrendered. They all died with a courage worthy of a nobler cause.

As the history of Rome, from the time of the Gracchi onwards, is not so much a history of the Commonwealth as collected biographies of leading men, round whom the public events group themselves, it is impossible to conclude the narrative of this celebrated conspiracy,

\* B.C. 62, A.U.C. 692.

which the Roman historian has even called "a war," without some account of the early life of Cicero.

Cicero was born of a respectable, but obscure family at Arpinum, the native town of Marius.\* His father went to Rome for the sake of educating his sons; and the young Cicero, after a good Greek elementary education, was put under the tuition of Q. Mutius Scævola, with whom he studied the Roman law, for which he had already displayed a decided taste. His career as a soldier was confined to one campaign in the Social war, under the father of Pompey the Great. His devotion to study and literature probably saved him during the terrible times of Sulla and Marius.

Afterwards, at the age of twenty-five, he began to practise as a pleader with very great success. At twenty-seven he went for six months to Athens, which was at that time the university of Europe; and after travelling a year and a half, returned to Rome. At the age of thirty he was elected quæstor, and fulfilled the duties of that office in Sicily, with singular honesty and integrity.

The sympathy which he felt with the Sicilians, and the respect which they had for him, caused him to be their counsel in the prosecution of Verres, who, as prætor, was guilty of the grossest oppression and extortion. The defendant took advantage of every quibble which the law allowed; but the legal skill and overpowering eloquence of Cicero were more than he could stand against, and, without making any defence, he went into voluntary exile.

Cicero clearly perceived the merits of Pompey, and gave all his weight and influence to the passing of the Manilian law; and, in a few years afterwards, at a momentous crisis, was, as we have seen, happily for his country, elected consul.

We must now trace the fortunes of the greatest man who ever adorned the annals of Roman history. Caius Julius Cæsar was born B.C. 100,† six years later than

\* B.C. 106, A.U.C. 648.

† A.U.C. 654.



his rival, Pompey. Connected by principle as well as by the ties of marriage with the Marian party, he was, nevertheless, providentially preserved during the Sullan persecutions. The prayers of common friends were listened to by the hard-hearted tyrant; and, although with reluctance, he pardoned him. He married Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna; and when commanded by Sulla to divorce her, he resolutely refused. He served in Asia at the conclusion of the first Mithridatic war, and afterwards, in the second, though only as a volunteer. At the age of thirty-two\* he was quæstor, and losing his wife, Cornelia, he married Pompeia, which formed a link between him and Pompey. In B.C. 65,† he filled the office of curule ædile, and by the magnificence of the public shows and games which he exhibited, gained unbounded popularity; but by his munificence he seriously involved himself in debt.

An attempt was made by his political enemies to expose him to the suspicion of having been engaged in the second Catilinarian conspiracy, but there is neither proof nor even probability of his guilt. The only act of his which bears the slightest appearance of his regarding the conspiracy with approbation, was that he opposed the execution of the ringleaders; but he did this on the ground of its illegality. The next year‡ Cæsar was prætor; and Q. Metellus Nepos, one of the tribunes, proposed the recall of Pompey, in order to protect citizens from being executed without trial, as had been the case with the Catilinarian conspirators. A tumult ensued, and Metellus fled to Pompey. The senate deposed Cæsar by force from the prætorship, but the people took the part of their friend, and forced the senate to reinstate him.

In the year following his prætorship, one of the Spanish provinces (*Hispania Ulterior*) was assigned to him; and a rebellion on the part of the Lusitanians gave him an opportunity at once of establishing his reputation as a general, and of recovering his fortunes. The

\* B.C. 68, A.U.C. 686.

† A.U.C. 689.

‡ B.C. 62, A.U.C. 92.

plunder of the vanquished provincials paid his debts, and left sufficient surplus to purchase a continuance of his popularity. The next year he returned to Rome, one year after Pompey, and was elected consul for the year ensuing.\* He found Pompey deeply offended with the aristocratic party, because, from some feelings of jealousy, they had refused to ratify the assignments of land in Asia which he had made to his veterans, as a reward for their invaluable services;—with little difficulty, therefore, he induced him to abandon his party, and to join the popular side.

Crassus had been hitherto one of Pompey's bitterest foes and most strenuous opponents, but Cæsar patched up the quarrel, and the three formed that formidable coalition of wealth, power, and talent, which is called the first Triumvirate.† There can be little doubt that Cæsar's was the master mind; and that, whilst by judicious flattery and skilful compliance he gratified the vanity of his colleagues, he moulded them to his will, and made them the tools and instruments of his ambitious designs. Gladly would the three confederates have persuaded Cicero to join them; but he was too shrewd not to discern the ambitious views of Cæsar, too timid to commit himself to so hazardous a policy, and, at the same time, too patriotic to strike a death-blow to the already expiring liberties of his country.

The first measure of the Triumvirate was the popular one of an agrarian law.‡ Cæsar, as consul, proposed that the fertile domain of Campania should be divided amongst the poor citizens, whose families consisted of three children at least;—he carried it, notwithstanding that he was opposed by his colleague, Bibulus, and also by Cicero and Cato. The last named was the most ardent friend of the aristocracy; he filled no office, but his spotless character and unimpeachable honesty gave him great influence, and rendered his opposition formidable. He next passed a law to relieve the knights from

\* B.C. 60, A.U.C. 694.

† Ibid.

‡ B.C. 59, A.U.C. 695.

a bad bargain which they had made as the "Publicani," or farmers of the public revenue, by remitting them one-third of the debt which they owed to the state; both these measures had been mooted before, but unsuccessfully; and Cæsar, by carrying the one, attached to himself the affections of the populace,—by the other, the friendship of the equestrian order.

Previous to his entering upon the consulship, the senate, fearful of intrusting him with the command of an army, had assigned to him, as a province, the care of the forests and pastures belonging to the public domain; but through the influence of the triumvirs the province of Gaul was given to him, together with the command of four legions for five years. This period was afterwards prolonged for five years more by agreement with Pompey and Crassus, the former receiving Spain, and the latter Syria, as their respective provinces. Cæsar also consolidated his friendship with Pompey by a new family tie, for he gave him his daughter, Julia, in marriage, whilst he himself, by similar means, extended his political connection by a marriage with Calpurnia, the daughter of L. Piso, whom he destined for the consulship of the ensuing year.

There was one part of Cæsar's and Pompey's policy which was most disgraceful to both, namely, their connection with Clodius. He was a patrician of notorious wickedness and profligacy: he had intruded himself, in woman's clothes, into the rites of the Bona Dea, from which men were excluded; and this sacrilege he had committed for the sake of an adulterous intercourse with the wife of Cæsar: bribery alone saved him from being convicted of this crime. This worthless man was patronized by the triumvirs, and through their influence was adopted into a plebeian family in order that he might thus be qualified for the tribuneship, and be a useful tool for their party purposes.

## CHAPTER XIX.

ANCIENT CONDITION OF GAUL—IRRUPTION OF THE HELVETII INTO GAUL—CUT TO PIECES BY CÆSAR—ARIOVISTUS DEFEATED—CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE GERMANS—FIRST AND SECOND INVASIONS OF BRITAIN—INSURRECTION IN GAUL—CÆSAR TAKES ALESIA AND CONQUERS VERGINETORIX—GAUL ENTIRELY SUBDUED—CÆSAR RETURNS TO ITALY—SCHEMES OF CLODIUS—CICERO LEAVES ROME—IS RECALLED FROM EXILE—DEATH OF CLODIUS—CAMPAIGNS OF CRASSUS IN SYRIA AND PARTHIA—HIS DEATH—POMPEY'S INFERIORITY TO CÆSAR AS A POLITICIAN—HIS MUNIFICENCE AND POPULARITY—HE IS ELECTED SOLE CONSUL—JOINS THE PARTY OF THE SENATE—INFLUENCE OF THE ARMY—MEASURES OF POMPEY AND CÆSAR—INACTIVITY OF POMPEY—CÆSAR DECLARED A PUBLIC ENEMY—HE PASSES THE RUBICON—FLIGHT OF POMPEY.

It will neither be profitable nor interesting to dwell long upon Cæsar's campaigns and victories in Gaul.



COIN OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

In nine years he completely subdued it;\* and although we cannot avoid being struck with admiration at his personal courage, his ability as a general, and all those intellectual qualities which ennoble and distinguish man's nature, we bewail his unrelenting cruelty and his wanton disregard of human life.

The providence of God, however, brings good out of evil; God heals the wounds which man has made; the blessings of refinement followed in the wake of Cæsar's devastations; and over those regions which war had desolated were spread the advantages of civilization. Gaul was, from very ancient times, divided amongst many different tribes, one of which, from time to time, was supreme. This supremacy was determined by right

\* B.C. 58-49, A.U.C. 696-705.

of conquest. At one time the domineering race were the Arverni (Auvergnois); at another the Ædui; at another the Sequani. The Sequani, unable of themselves to establish their pre-eminence, had, a little while before Cæsar's campaigns, invited to their assistance the Suevi, a German nation: this was a signal for hordes of migrating Germans to spread themselves over the plains of Gaul, the nation being now in a disunited and distracted condition.

The Helvetii, also, at this time, who inhabited the Alpine mountains and valleys of Switzerland, either from that migratory spirit which seems to have been an instinct with some nations, or else, fearing that their native land might also be overrun by the Suevi, determined to make an irruption into the Gallic territory. Led by their chieftain, Orgetorix, three hundred and sixty thousand poured down from the mountains into the plains of Gaul, laid the country waste with fire and sword, intending to take possession of the land, and reduce the inhabitants to the condition of serfs and bondmen. Probably they were tempted by a knowledge of the struggle, yet undecided, between the Ædui and Sequani; and this enormous horde might have been successful, had it not been for the opportune presence of Cæsar. They had already reached the territory of the Sequani (Franche Comte). Three divisions had crossed the Arar (Saone), when Cæsar intercepted the passage of the fourth, defeated them with great slaughter, gained a second decisive victory over the rest in the neighbourhood of Bibracte, and compelled them to surrender and to evacuate the country. Of the myriads who had crossed the Jura, not one-third survived to return.\* The Ædui then implored his interference to arrest the progress of Ariovistus, king of Suevi; but as he refused to leave Gaul, Cæsar gave him battle, cut off the greater part of his army, and drove him, with the remainder, across the Rhine.

The next year† was employed in carrying on the

\* B.C. 58, A.U.C. 696.

† B.C. 57, A.U.C. 697.

Belgic war. The Belgians formed a powerful confederacy, and raised an army of three hundred thousand men. It would have been impossible to meet so large a force united in the field; Cæsar, therefore, broke it up, and beat them in detail. The hardest part of his task was with the Nervii, who dwelt on the banks of the Sambre. They were a brave people; and, as they had concealed themselves in the forests with which their country abounded, Cæsar forgot his usual caution, and allowed himself to be surprised. He quickly, however, recovered his false step, and entirely destroyed their army. These successes were rapidly followed by brilliant victories in the north-western part of Gaul, and by similar exploits on the part of his lieutenant-general, Crassus, in Aquitain, during the ensuing year.\* These events were celebrated at Rome by a public thanksgiving, continued for the unprecedented length of fifteen days.

In the course of three campaigns victory had attended the arms of Cæsar throughout every part of his province; but such was the obstinate elasticity of the Gallic character, that no sooner was the check removed than the foe raised his head again, and rebellion quickly followed submission.

It was at the conclusion of this campaign† that the arrangement was made with respect to the assignment of the provinces between the triumvirs, to which allusion has been already made. Things were quiet this year, as far as the Gauls were concerned, but Cæsar was occupied with the Germans. Two tribes, the Usipetes and Tenceteri, had been deprived of their possessions by the inroad of the Suevi, and, crossing the Rhine, attempted to form a settlement in Gaul. Cæsar marched against them and opened negotiations. Whilst these were pending, a squadron of German cavalry attacked that of Cæsar. The chiefs came to Cæsar to express their sorrow, and, during their absence from their forces, Cæsar attacked and defeated them.

This act was thought so treacherous at Rome, that

\* B.C. 56, A.U.C. 698.

† B.C. 55, A.U.C. 699.



Cato even proposed that Cæsar should be surrendered to the Germans. After this victory, he crossed the Rhine, laid waste the lands of the Sicambri, and then returned to Gaul. This year is also rendered famous by his first descent upon Britain, in which he forced the islanders to submission, and to give hostages, but did not penetrate into the interior.

A second invasion of Britain took place the next year,\* and Cassivelaunus, chieftain of the district north of the Thames, was commander-in-chief of the Britons. Their brave resistance was, however, in vain. Cæsar forded the Thames, took the capital of Cassivelaunus, laid the islands under tribute, and received hostages for the payment of it.

Another strong confederacy, followed by an insurrection, gave full employment to the legions of Cæsar,† but the Roman arms were ultimately successful. The Eburones, however, under their chieftain Ambiorix, gave them the most trouble; and a spirit of determination to be free from the tyrannical domination of Rome seemed now to be rising and rapidly spreading throughout Gaul. Even the Ædui, "the friends of Rome," were up in arms, and Cæsar found an antagonist worthy of him in the person of Vercingetorix, a young chieftain of the Arveni.

In midwinter, when Cæsar scarcely expected any interruption, news of this universal rising came to his ears, and before the winter was over,‡ he, with his characteristic rapidity, commenced a campaign, at once the most critical and the most decisive in its results.

With an energy and perseverance equal to those of Hannibal, he crossed the mountains, whilst the passes were still blocked up with snow, and gained victory after victory in the territory of the Arveni. He took Avaricum, and massacred all the inhabitants without regard to sex or age. Vercingetorix retreated before him, and at length halted in the strongly-fortified town

\* B.C. 54, A.U.C. 700.

† B.C. 53, A.U.C. 701.

‡ B.C. 52, A.U.C. 702.

of Alesia,\* in Burgundy. Caesar pursued him, and blockaded the town; but he himself was, in turn, hemmed in by a huge army of more than two hundred and fifty thousand men. He, however, extricated himself from this danger. Alesia was starved out, and Vercingetorix gave himself up. Caesar had not, however, sufficient generosity to pardon his noble foe, but caused him to be put to death.

There was yet an eighth campaign in the ensuing year,† but it was merely the extinguishing of the dying embers of Gallic bravery and patriotism. That year saw the arms of Rome completely triumphant over the whole of the vast tract of country now occupied by the flourishing nations of France, Switzerland, and Belgium; and in B.C. 50,‡ Caesar was again on the Roman side of the Alpine chain. It must not be supposed that he was unmindful of the state of affairs at Rome. Roman generals were no longer patriots. They were no longer fighting the battles of their fatherland. Military success was a means to a selfish end, and that end was political power. Victory was also the road to wealth; not that the Roman general of these days was avaricious; he usually spent his treasure as profusely as he accumulated it: but wealth, and splendour, and ostentatious extravagance, and profuse munificence, were now the avenue to supreme power; and Caesar doubtless had by this time by no means indistinct visions of a regal throne and an imperial diadem.

Let us, then, go back and see what had been taking place in the Roman empire, at home and abroad, whilst Caesar was acquiring fame, and heaping up boundless treasures by the plunder of Gaul.

His last political act had been to associate with himself, as instruments in order to carry his ambitious projects into effect, Pompey and Crassus, and he had also attached to his interests a most unworthy tool, the unprincipled and profligate Clodius. The public acts of this villain, in his tribuneship, were on a par with his

\* B.C. 52, A.U.C. 702. † B.C. 51, A.U.C. 703. ‡ A.U.C. 704.

private conduct. He caused it to be enacted, that whoever put a citizen to death without trial should be exiled. This *ex post facto* law was aimed at Cicero, and he, seeing that ruin was inevitable, voluntarily left Rome, and went to Thessalonica.\* In his absence, Clodius procured his outlawry, confiscated his property, and razed his house and villas to the ground. This he did, in order to gratify his revenge on Cicero, because he refused to defend him on his trial for sacrilege. Another of his unjust acts proceeded from the same revengeful spirit. He had once been captured by pirates, and Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, had refused to ransom him. He, therefore, procured a decree for the deposition of the king, and constituting the island a Roman province. Cato, in order to get rid of his unwelcome opposition, was intrusted with carrying the decree into effect. Great must have been the struggle to this honest man, between the commission of an unjust act, and obedience to the commands of his country. He escaped, however, the necessity of enforcing the law, for Ptolemy took poison before he arrived. He then took possession of the island and the royal treasures; and although he paid the proceeds to the uttermost farthing into the treasury, he still could not escape the malignity of Clodius, who accused him of embezzlement. This charge only called forth from him the indignant reply, that the prosecution was a disgrace, not to himself, but to the age in which he lived.

The estimation in which Cicero was held could not suffer him long to remain in exile. He was recalled the next year,† and made a triumphant entry into Rome, attended by all whose good opinion was worth having.

The end of Clodius was such as he deserved. Milo, who had been one of the tribunes the year after Clodius, was a bitter foe to him and his measures. In B.C. 53,‡ he was a candidate for the consulship, and Clodius for the prætorship. Bands of armed gladiators, in the pay of each, paraded the streets of Rome, and murder

\* B.C. 58, A.U.C. 696. † B.C. 57, A.U.C. 697. ‡ A.U.C. 701.

and bloodshed were of every-day occurrence. The adverse parties met by accident in the Via Appia, near Bovillæ, a fray was the consequence, and Clodius was slain. Milo was tried for this act of violence; and, although defended by Cicero, he was condemned, and went into exile to Marseilles.\*

In the year B.C. 55,† when Cæsar's term in Gaul was renewed, Pompey and Crassus were the consuls, and the former obtained Spain, the latter Syria, as their respective provinces. The heart of Crassus seemed to have been entirely set upon acquiring wealth. Avarice drove all thoughts of generalship out of his head, as well as all care for the law of nations. He determined to proceed from Syria to Parthia, and enrich himself by the plunder of Asia. This was an act of unprovoked aggression; for Sulla had made a treaty with the Parthians, which was afterwards renewed by Pompey, and they had never violated it. Crassus drained Syria of all its resources; and Josephus relates that he plundered the temple of Jerusalem of all its treasures, amounting to ten thousand talents, in direct violation of a solemn promise, which he made to Eleazar the treasurer.

Next year‡ he marched into Mesopotamia, where he was met by the envoy of the king of Parthia (Arsaces XIV.), offering terms. The negotiation came to nothing; and trusting himself to the guidance of a treacherous Arab chief, Abgarus, or Acbarus (Akhbar), he was conducted into the presence of the Parthian army. They, by their skill in archery, and by their peculiar mode of fighting, which was to lead their enemy into a disorderly pursuit by pretending to fly, conquered the Romans. Crassus then retired upon Charræ (Haran), and thence endeavoured to escape with the rest of his army. A second time he was led into a perilous position by a treacherous guide; and, seeing no chance of escape, he consented to an interview with the Parthian general Surenas. A horse was brought to convey him to the place of meeting, but it was evident that the Parthians intended to

\* B.C. 52, A.U.C. 702.

† A.U.C. 699.

‡ B.C. 54, A.U.C. 700.

take him prisoner. Crassus endeavoured to resist, and in the confusion he was slain by some one unknown. His head was cut off, and brought to the king, who filled it with melted gold, exclaiming, "Take thy fill of that which in life thou so greedily didst long for."\*

Crassus being now removed, Cæsar had but one rival, and between these the struggle for supreme power soon commenced. Although Pompey's career had been glorious as a general, there can be no doubt that he failed as a politician, and was no match for the more varied and versatile talents of Cæsar. He commenced his career as a friend of the people. After he returned from the east, he generally resided at Rome, and courted popular favour by his profuse munificence. He built a magnificent stone theatre, large enough to contain forty thousand persons, and opened it with games which surpassed in splendour all that had been witnessed before. Numerous victims were sacrificed in those cruel sports, which contributed more than anything else to harden the hearts and brutalize the nature of the Romans. Gladiators, elephants, and wild beasts of the rarest kinds were slaughtered, to the savage delight of the assembled multitude. The senate, however, dreaded the increase of his popularity; they saw that if they could gain him over to their party, he would be their best bulwark against the designs of Cæsar, and they bribed and bought him, by the unprecedented measure of making him sole consul, without a colleague to share that honour. He now threw himself into their arms.†

Trembling, however, at the invidious position in which he was placed, he appointed, after a lapse of five months, his father-in-law, Q. Metellus Scipio, as a nominal colleague. He then proceeded to forward the objects of his new friends, but had not firmness to persevere in carrying them into effect. In order to exclude Cæsar from the consulship, for the next year, he proposed to put in force an obsolete law, which

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\* B.C. 53, A.U.C. 701.

† B.C. 52, A.U.C. 702.

forbade any one from being a candidate for a magistracy, whilst absent from Rome. Cæsar's party demanded that he should be exempted from the operation of the law, and Pompey, not daring to venture on an open rupture, gave way. Thus the principal purpose of the law was rendered null and void.

It can now be easily seen how near Rome was to exchanging its republican constitution for the despotic sway of an emperor. The army had already become all in all. The soldiers were the devoted servants of the general who led them to victory, and enriched them with spoil. Whoever, therefore, could place himself at the head of an army, to the exclusion of all others, virtually controlled the destinies of Rome. Accordingly, Pompey proposed, or caused to be proposed, three measures:—1. To continue to himself his province, and, consequently, the command of his legions. 2. That no consul should be eligible to a province until the expiration of five years. 3. That Cæsar should disband his army; and that if he became a candidate for the consulship, he should come to Rome and stand as a private citizen.\*

The acute and quick-sighted Cæsar saw through his scheme; and although he offered to resign his province if Pompey would do the same, yet it was not probable that, crowned with the laurels of a glorious campaign, at the head of a veteran army, whom he had led so often to victory, he would put himself, powerless and defenceless, in the hands of an armed rival. Cæsar was aware of the critical posture of affairs, and made preparations for the worst. He attached to his cause the Italians north of the Po, by conferring upon the principal towns the Roman franchise. He had his legions in readiness for immediate service, and placed a portion of his treasure at the disposal of his friends in Rome, in order to purchase adherents to his party. Pompey, on the other hand, seems to have been paralyzed by self-confidence. He

\* B.C. 50, A.U.C. 794.

depended upon his own popularity. The towns of Italy had offered up public thanksgiving on his recovery from fever, which attacked him in Campania, and he took it for granted that they would unanimously help him with their arms, as they had done with their prayers. Although invested with the command of the armies of the republic, no precautions were taken, no preparations made, no troops levied, when the senate suddenly struck the final blow. Cæsar was ordered to disband his army, and proclaimed an enemy to the republic in case of disobedience. Five of the tribunes saw that this was a fatal blow to the hopes of the popular party, and finding their veto was in vain, fled to Cæsar's camp at Ravenna.

He had not yet entered, as an enemy, the sacred territory of the republic. A little stream, "the Rubicon," still flowed between him and Italy. An inward struggle between selfish ambition and expiring patriotism, delayed him for a moment upon its banks; he then plunged in, and exclaiming, "The die is cast!" passed the river.

The leader now had passed the torrent o'er,  
And reached fair Italy's forbidden shore;  
Then rearing on the hostile bank his head;  
Here farewell peace and injured laws, he said;  
Since faith is broke, and leagues are set aside,  
Henceforth, thou goddess Fortune as my guide,  
Let fate and war the great event decide!  
He spake, and on the dreadful task intent,  
Speedy to near Ariminum he bent.  
To him the Balearic sling is slow,  
And the shaft loiters from the Parthian bow.  
With eager strides he marches to the town,  
As the shades fled the sinking stars were gone,  
And Lucifer, the last, was left alone!—LUCAN.

All Pompey's hopes and expectations were at once foiled. All Italy welcomed his rival with open arms. The march of Cæsar was like a royal progress, a triumphal procession. Not a soldier deserted his standard; not a town closed its gates against him. Pompey, at the news of his approach, fled like a

coward, accompanied by the consuls and leaders of the aristocratic party, amongst whom was Cicero.\* From Rome to Capua, from Capua to Brundisium, he fled with all speed, and Cæsar followed him thus far; he then crossed over to Dyrrhachium, where, as Cæsar had no fleet, he was safe from pursuit for the present.

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## CHAPTER XX.

CÆSAR'S POWER UNDISPUTED—HE MARCHES THROUGH ITALY INTO SPAIN—POMPEY'S PRINCIPAL STRENGTH WAS THERE—CÆSAR CONQUERS HIS LEGIONS—NOMINATED DICTATOR AND ELECTED CONSUL—LANDS WITH HIS ARMY IN EPIRUS—RETREATS INTO THESSALY—BATTLE OF PHARSALIA—POMPEY FLIES TO EGYPT, AND IS MURDERED BY COMMAND OF PTOLEMY—CÆSAR'S CONNECTION WITH CLEOPATRA—HE DEFEATS PHARNACES—HIS THIRD DICTATORSHIP—BATTLE OF THAPSUS—DEATH OF CATO—TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR—CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN AGAINST CN. POMPEY—CÆSAR'S GENEROUS POLICY—REFORM OF THE CALENDAR—OTHER REFORMS—REFUSES THE CROWN—CONSPIRACY OF BRUTUS AND CASSIUS—CÆSAR ASSASSINATED—CHARACTER OF CÆSAR—HIS FUNERAL—STATE OF ROME.

CÆSAR'S power was now undisputed in Italy and in Rome; all obstacles were removed out of his way, there were none left to impede his path to absolute power. But Pompey's strength was in his province, Spain, in the army which had been assigned to him, and in his lieutenant-generals, Afranius and Petreius, to whose charge he had intrusted his province whilst he was pursuing his political career at Rome. Thither, therefore, the conqueror proceeded in person; and, at the same time, there was not a corner in the Roman empire likely to contain adherents of the Pompeian party, to which he did not send either delegates or soldiers. Some of these were not so successful as he was, for in Africa, Curio was conquered and slain in a battle with Juba, king of Mauritania, who espoused the cause of Pompey, and C. Antonius was taken

\* B.C. 49, A.U.C. 705.

prisoner in Illyricum. These, however, were but slight reverses, compared with his victorious career.

Cæsar, meanwhile, marched unopposed through Italy, and met with his first check at Massilia (Marseilles). The inhabitants closed their gates against him; leaving, therefore, his lieutenants to besiege it, he marched on to Spain. As Pompey's army consisted of no less than seven legions, it was not without many difficult and severe struggles, and some ill-success, that Cæsar reduced them to submission; but, nevertheless, it took him only forty days to complete the conquest of Spain, and, marching back to Marseilles, he quickly reduced it to a surrender.

During his absence from Rome the prætor, M. Lepidus, to whom he had intrusted the safe custody of the city, nominated him dictator.\* This magistracy he only held eleven days,—long enough, however, to get himself elected consul for the following year, together with P. Servilius Isauricus, to remove the attainer of political offenders, and to ratify the franchise granted by him to the people north of the Po.

Pompey had by this time recovered his original soldierlike activity, and got together an army of nine legions, together with a considerable fleet. Cæsar then marched to Brundisium with seven legions, and setting sail from thence crossed the Hadriatic, and landed in Epirus. His fleet was very inferior in numbers to that of the enemy, and his legions having been thinned by sickness, numbered about half those of Pompey. Without delay he proceeded to blockade Pompey's camp, which was pitched on a high table-land near Dyrrhachium, but Pompey made a gallant sally, cut his way through Cæsar's lines, and compelling him to retreat in the direction of Thessaly, followed up the advantage which he had gained by an immediate pursuit.

At first, Pompey avoided giving Cæsar battle, but overtaking him on the plain of Pharsalia, he listened to the persuasions of his generals, who were less

\* B.C. 49, A.U.C. 705.

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prudent than he was, and offered battle. The well-drilled and experienced veterans of Cæsar, although not half their number, were too much for the raw and hastily raised recruits of Pompey. The latter was totally vanquished\* and fled to Egypt, thinking to find an asylum at the court of Ptolemy, whose father he had assisted in regaining possession of his throne. The ungrateful prince thought it better policy to purchase Cæsar's good-will by the death of his foe. Pompey was, therefore, murdered on the sea-coast in the sight of his wife and son, and his head sent to Cæsar. He met his death with true Roman firmness and dignity.

The chief perceived their purpose soon, and spread  
His Roman gown with patience o'er his head ;  
And when the cursed Achilles pierced his breast  
His rising indignation close repressed !  
No sighs, no groans his dignity profaned,  
No tears his still unsullied glory stain'd ;  
Unmoved and firm he fixed him on his seat.  
And died as when he lived and conquered, GREAT !—LUCAN.

The noble-spirited Cæsar forgot his enmity in his rival's fall, and wept when he thought of his reverse of fortune. A faithful freedman committed the mutilated corpse to a foreign grave.

Few great men have enjoyed a larger share of popularity amongst their countrymen than Pompey. His brilliant exploits and undoubted military talents blinded a military nation like the Romans. Although they could not appreciate or therefore admire his abilities as a diplomatist, they could see and value the happy and fortunate results of them. But his faults were of that kind which, if his countrymen had discovered them, they would have found difficult to forgive. His ambition was entirely selfish—he had no real patriotism, and he was false and treacherous to his party.

Cæsar's affections were now captivated by the charms

\* B.C. 48, A.U.C. 706.



of the beautiful Cleopatra,\* sister of the young king of Egypt. She claimed, in accordance with the terms of her father's will, to reign jointly with her brother. This claim was disputed by the young king's guardians, and Cæsar went to war with them in support of Cleopatra's pretensions. In this war he was successful, but during an attack upon the royal palace by the supporters of the guardians, Ptolemy was drowned in the Nile, and consequently a younger brother was associated with Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt. Contrary winds, a love for Cleopatra, by whom he had a son named Cæsarion, detained him at Alexandria nine months, when he was aroused from his luxurious indolence by intelligence that Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, was in arms. He immediately marched for Pontus, and defeated Pharnaces in a single battle, and sent home his celebrated despatch, the shortest that general ever penned, "VENI, VIDI, VICI." "I came, I saw, I conquered." He then hastened to Italy, and in the autumn of B.C. 47, landed at Brundisium.

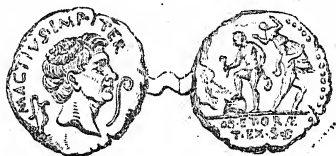
Although nominally the old constitution remained, and the mere official titles continued to be used, it was virtually abrogated. Cæsar was made dictator for the third time.\* In his second dictatorship he had nominated the celebrated M. Antony master of the horse. He not only filled that magistracy, but held simultaneously the tribuneship for life, and the consulship for five years. The Pompeians had not as yet given up all hopes: Cato and Metellus Scipio still held out at Utica. Cæsar, however, crossed over to Africa, and gained a complete victory over the generals of Pompey at Thapsus.† Cato now saw that there was no longer any prospect of successfully defending Utica, and therefore advised its surrender; but he would not purchase his own safety at the price of submission. The days of Roman freedom were numbered, and the stern stoic and honest republican would not survive them. The dark creed of heathenism did not teach him how heinous was the sin of sui-

\* B.C. 47, A.U.C. 707.

† B.C. 46, A.U.C. 708.

cide. He prepared himself for death by contemplating in the Phædo of Plato the death of the holiest of heathen philosophers, Socrates, one who met death with cheerful fortitude and pious resignation. He then stabbed himself to the heart, and died in the hope, almost the belief, of immortality. Thus ended the earthly career of a truly honest man, who fully deserved the high reputation which has been awarded him by posterity.

Scipio was drowned in an unsuccessful engagement by sea, and the two sons of Pompey, Cneius and Sextus, fled



COIN OF CN. POMPEY.

to Spain. Caesar's enemies were now entirely crushed, and he returned to Rome in undisputed possession of sole and supreme authority.

Four days he triumphed in order to celebrate his victories in Gaul, Pontus, Egypt, and Africa. The treasures which he brought to Rome seem almost incredible, amounting, it is said, to three millions sterling. Honours were heaped upon him in lavish profusion. Like Cicero he was hailed, "*Pater Patriæ*" (Father of his country). The month Quintilis (his birth-month) was named July in his honour, and he was worshipped as a demigod. To these flatteries was added substantial power. The offices of imperator or commander of the armies of the state, dictator, consul, tribune, censor, with a new title (*præfectus morum*), and wider powers, were accumulated in his person, and all the other magistracies hitherto elective were now filled either on his nomination or recommendation.

Caesar, however, was not long left undisturbed. All that remained of Pompey's partisans rallied round his

sons. Many towns in the south of Spain declared in their favour, and this last desperate struggle gave Cæsar great trouble. He set out for Spain, and at Munda fell in with his adversaries. Cn. Pompey was an able general, and so well did he choose his ground, and place his men, that he got the best of it in the first encounter. But Cæsar dismounted, and by exposing himself in the thickest of the fight, rallied his troops and won the battle.\* Cneius fled, but was overtaken and slain. His brother escaped to the mountains of Arragon, and there led a bandit life, and maintained himself by a sort of petty warfare. Towards the end of the year Cæsar returned to Rome. He triumphed, but his triumph was over Roman citizens, and not over foreign enemies.

The first use which Cæsar made of his absolute power was worthy of his generous nature and political sagacity—it was calculated to insure his supremacy by attaching to himself the affection and confidence of all orders of the state. Instead of the usual course of proscription and massacre, he proclaimed a general amnesty, treated his political opponents as guests, and restored many of the exiled Pompeians to their rank and position. Previous to his expedition into Spain he had carried into effect that very important alteration, the reform of the calendar. Owing partly to natural causes, partly to the incorrect way in which the intercalary month had been frequently inserted, the civil year was ninety days in advance of the solar one. He therefore made the year B.C. 46, to consist of four hundred and forty-five days; and it is, therefore, commonly called the year of Confusion. He prevented similar errors for the future by defining each civil year by the period of the sun's revolution. Now that his authority was firmly established, he devoted his active and energetic mind to the formation of other plans of extensive public utility, but he did not live to carry them into effect. He made no great constitutional changes; his object seems to have been to mould the existing constitution to his will. He rewarded

\* B.C. 45, A.U.C. 709.

his victorious veterans by the establishment of military colonies—he increased the number of prætors and quæstors, because the increase of public business rendered such a measure necessary, and he filled up the vacancies in the senate by raising his friends to the rank of patricians. The senate itself he increased to the number of nine hundred.

The people of Rome had a deeply-rooted antipathy to kings. Their history, both real and traditional, fostered this dislike. But it was the name which they hated far more than the reality. Hence, although the power of Cæsar was as absolute as that of any sovereign who ever reigned, he did not dare to assume the regal title, or its external badge, the crown. Nor did any of his successors, even the most tyrannical, venture to do so. The title “imperator,” which is translated emperor, was a constitutional one: it meant no more than commander-in-chief of the armies of the republic. Cæsar was vain enough to wish for the regal title, but too shrewd to take it.

A proof of this was given by him the next year.\* As consul he had Mark Antony for his colleague, as dictator he had M. Lepidus for his master of the horse, and he determined upon making his great-nephew, Octavius, his successor, just as if he had been the occupier of an hereditary throne. He now felt his way to this higher position. In the presence of the people assembled at the solemn festival of the Lupercalia, M. Antony, doubtless in accordance with a preconcerted plan, offered him a crown. Not a word was uttered by the bystanders in approbation—a dead silence prevailed. Cæsar’s penetrating mind discovered at once the public feeling, and declined the offer of the diadem. Then one loud universal shout of applause rent the skies, and Cæsar saw that he had wisely sacrificed the semblance for the reality of power.

But there were some men who felt that Cæsar’s power was an unconstitutional usurpation, and that either it or

\* B.C. 44, A.U.C. 710.

liberty must fall for ever. These men formed a conspiracy, of which M. Brutus and C. Cassius, two of the prætors, were the leaders. Both of them were Pompeians, and therefore politically opposed to Cæsar; but the motives which actuated them in the step which they now took were very different. Brutus was the nephew and son-in-law of Cato: he resembled him in his stoical honesty and rigid republicanism. He was a scholar and an orator, of an amiable disposition, and enjoyed the friendship of Cæsar. But he considered it his duty to stifle the feelings which he entertained towards Cæsar, because he firmly believed him to be an enemy to his country.

Cassius, on the other hand, was actuated by sentiments of personal hatred and enmity. He had been mortified, because Cæsar had refused him the city prætorship, and he determined to have his revenge.

On the Ides of March (the 15th),\* it was determined to assassinate Cæsar. He was warned of his danger by his friends; the Augurs had foretold that this day would be fatal to him; his wife is said to have had an ill-omened dream, and he himself felt melancholy forebodings. But he disregarded all, and went to the senate-house. Even on his way a letter was delivered to him, by a Greek philosopher, named Artemidorus, containing an account of the conspiracy; but he was too much pressed on by the crowd, and by those who were striving to put papers into his hand, to read it.

On entering the senate-house, he proceeded straight to his curule chair, which was placed near the statue of his great rival, Pompey. The conspirators managed to occupy the places nearest him, and whilst Tillius Cimber was pressing a petition upon him with great urgency, Casca struck the first blow. At first Cæsar defended himself bravely against their cowardly attack; but when he received a wound from the hand of Brutus, for whom he entertained a sincere regard, he exclaimed "Et tu, Brute!" ("And thou, too, Brutus!") covered his

\* B.C. 44, A.U.C. 710.

face with his robe, in order that he might fall with greater decency, and submitted to his murderers. He fell, pierced with twenty-three wounds, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and sprinkled with his blood the statue of Pompey.

In this treacherous and bloody tragedy, the only actor whose motives were really patriotic, was probably Brutus. He, with the traditional sternness of his family, sacrificed his friendship with Cæsar to what he thought his country's good. All the rest were unquestionably actuated by selfish grudges and private animosities. But although the motives of Brutus might have been unselfish, the act was no less a treacherous murder, and the attempt to recover liberty in this way, as absurd as it was wicked. The Romans were no longer fit for constitutional freedom or self-government. Their political corruption had now reached its zenith. - Power was sure to be the prey of the strongest, and the struggle by which it was to be attained unscrupulously carried on. The event proved this to be the case. Cæsar's death led to civil war, and civil war to absolutism. Hazardous as the experiment always is, their only chance of safety and civil order was under the strong hand and dominion of a master.

In the character of Cæsar we have a melancholy instance of intellectual greatness united with moral depravity. He was one of the cleverest, and yet one of the worst men that ever lived. As a general, he possessed remarkable quickness and decision; as a statesman, clearness of judgment and acute penetration. In both capacities few have equalled him in the ascendancy which he gained over other men's minds. His taste in literature and the fine arts was pure and elegant, and he had a thorough perception of all the pleasures of the intellect. On the other hand, he was vain, ambitious—not so much of true honour and glory as of popularity—grossly sensual in the indulgence of his worst passions, and utterly regardless of human suffering or of the waste of human life. His was just the character to dazzle the multitude. Its brilliance was too great to allow the moral defects



which blotted it to be generally discovered. He was exactly the tyrant under whose sway the governed would contentedly hug their chains. Hence, when he fell, no one hailed the prospect of freedom, no one sympathized with the assassins. The city was in a state of tumult, and Brutus and Cassius took refuge from the apprehended danger of popular indignation in the Capitol. The senate at first appeared paralyzed; many fled, not knowing which part to take; and after two days, when they met, they could not come to any decision. Cicero was amongst the very few who openly declared that the murder of Cæsar was justifiable.

As the excitement gradually began to subside, it soon became evident that popular feeling was in favour of the friends of the murdered dictator, and they did not delay to take advantage of it. His public acts were confirmed: a magnificent public funeral was decreed to him; and Antony was appointed to deliver his funeral oration. At the same time, an act of general amnesty was passed, and Brutus and Cassius were reconciled to the chiefs of the opposite party. At the funeral of Cæsar public enthusiasm was at its height. The body was in the forum, in front of the rostra, where Antony had just been speaking. Suddenly two veterans rushed forward with torches, and set fire to the bier. The mob heaped up all the wood which they could find, even the seats and benches, and the women threw their ornaments, and soldiers their arms, into the flames. Antony did not lose the opportunity of still more exciting the infuriated populace; he held up the bloody robe, and showed the rents which each dagger had made. Such was the effect produced, that the amnesty was forgotten, the houses of the conspirators were fired, many slain, and Brutus and Cassius fled the country; and the city was a scene of rioting and disturbances, until Dolabella, the son-in-law of Cicero, who was consul, together with M. Antony, quelled them.

## CHAPTER XXI.

ANTONY TAKES POSSESSION OF CÆSAR'S PAPERS—OCTAVIANUS COMES TO ROME—INTERVIEW WITH CICERO—ANTONY FLIES TO GAUL—OCTAVIANUS ELECTED CONSUL—CÆSAR'S MURDERERS PROSCRIBED—MURDER OF D. BRUTUS—THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE—PROSCRIPTION—CICERO ENDEAVOURS TO ESCAPE—HIS MURDER—HIS CHARACTER—BATTLE OF PHILIPPI—ABSENCE OF OCTAVIANUS—FLIGHT OF HORACE—DEATHS OF BRUTUS AND CASSIUS—PLUNDER OF ITALY AND ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY COLONIES—FEUD BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND CIVIL CLASSES—CAPTURE OF PERUSIA.

SUCH was the condition of Rome after the assassination of Cæsar, and it was evident that henceforward supreme power would be the prize of the strongest. Mark Antony made the first attempt to secure it to himself. His first step was to possess himself of Cæsar's papers, as by so doing he would be able to defend any plan which he proposed, by pretending that it was in accordance with the wishes of Cæsar. In the distribution of the provinces, he assigned Syria to his colleague, Macedonia to his brother Caius, and he himself took Cisalpine Gaul. This involved the probability of fresh disturbances, for Cæsar had, in his lifetime, conferred this province upon Decimus Brutus, who was not likely to surrender it quietly and unresistingly. Antony acted in all things as though he was determined to be Cæsar's successor, and to gain the support of the army, he visited the different colonies throughout Italy, in order to enlist the veterans in his cause. In September he returned to Rome, and Cicero, who hated him bitterly, although until now he had concealed his animosity, attacked him with his overpowering wit and eloquence, in the first of that series of orations which, from their poignancy and virulence, have been named "Philippics," after the celebrated speeches of Demosthenes.

We have now to trace the career of a most re-

markable man, who, although only nineteen years of age, came upon the stage of public life. Cæsar had adopted as his son his great-nephew, C. Octavius, and had sent him to Apollonia, for the purpose of completing his education. When the intelligence of Cæsar's death arrived he prepared to return to Rome. His friends advised him to avenge his uncle's murder, and promised him their support; but the consummate prudence which marks his character, and which often degenerated into duplicity and hypocrisy, led him to decline this: and he came to Rome as a private individual, and claimed his inheritance. He, however, assumed the name of C. J. Cæsar Octavianus. He had now a difficult part to play, which demanded all his skill and address. Antony had already spent great part of his patrimony, but still he could not quarrel with him, because his party alone held out to him any hopes of revenge. At last he openly broke with him, and, as the senate supported Octavianus, Antony was compelled to refund his ill-gotten gains.

Octavianus, on his way to Rome, had an interview with Cicero at his villa, and friendship for Cæsar, together with hatred to Antony, disposed the orator at once eagerly to embrace his cause. So zealous was he, that, at his repeated persuasions, the senate made Octavianus prætor, and gave him the command of an army. His commission was to aid the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, in relieving D. Brutus, whom Antony was endeavouring to deprive of the province which Julius Cæsar had conferred upon him.

Brutus was now shut up in Mutina, by the main body of Antony's army. The latter, with a detachment, was surprised in a mountain pass, by Hirtius, and defeated. The consul followed up the advantage which he had gained, by attacking his head-quarters, but was mortally wounded in heading the storming party. The attack, however, was so successful, that Antony fled from Italy to Lepidus, in Gaul, who received him with open arms. The death of the other

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consul, Pansa, at this crisis, caused some suspicion to rest upon Octavianus, that he had caused Hirtius to be assassinated, and the wound of Pansa to be poisoned. At any rate, Octavianus usurped the command of the consular armies.

The senate, however, would not sanction this step ; but, as circumstances had placed D. Brutus in direct opposition to Antony, they gave the command to him. Octavianus, on his return to Rome, demanded the consulship, and as a mere blind, proposed Cicero for his colleague. Backed by the army, he secured his election, as well as that of his nephew, Q. Pedius. Cicero was one of the strongest opponents to Octavianus' election ; but when he saw that resistance was vain, that all was lost, and that the reviving hopes of liberty were crushed for ever, he retired from public life, not from cowardice but from despair.

Pedius now proposed and passed a bill of attainder against all the murderers of Cæsar, and in pursuance of it they were proscribed. It was evidently principally aimed at D. Brutus, who had stood in the way of Octavianus' advancement. He was compelled to fly, by a revolt of his army, and was soon after treacherously murdered. Antony was now returning from Gaul, together with Lepidus, at the head of a vast army, and Octavianus, who had marched northwards in pursuit of the proscribed, came up with them near Bologna, where a meeting took place ; he was reconciled to Antony by Lepidus, and the three formed themselves into a Triumvirate, to hold the supreme power for five years.\*

The provinces they thus divided amongst themselves : Africa and the Mediterranean were given to Octavianus ; Gaul to Antony ; and Spain to Lepidus. A cold-blooded proscription then followed, to gratify not revenge, but avarice. Each was ready to sacrifice the nearest and dearest to the cupidity of his colleagues ; and wealth, not politics, marked out the

\* B.C. 43, A.U.C. 711.

victims for destruction. Antony gave up his uncle; Lepidus, his brother; and Octavianus, Cicero. A price was set upon the heads of the condemned, and the brutal soldiery were the executioners. A few were fortunate enough to escape to Brutus and Cassius in Asia, or to Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, but there fell in this terrible and merciless massacre, no less than two thousand knights and three hundred senators.

Cicero was enjoying the literary retirement of his Tusculan villa, when the intelligence reached him that he was marked out for destruction. He was too great a philosopher to fear death, and he scarcely thought life worth preserving. "I will die," he said, "in my father-land, which I have so often saved." However, at the entreaty of his brother, he endeavoured to escape.

He first went across the country to his Formian villa, and then embarked at the neighbouring port of Caieta. But the weather was bad, and as he suffered much from sea-sickness, he again landed. As he was being carried in a litter, his pursuers overtook him. He would not permit his attendants to make any resistance, but patiently and courageously submitted to the sword of the assassins, who cut off his head and hands, and carried them to Antony. A savage joy sparkled in his eyes at the sight of these bloody trophies; his wife, Fulvia, gloated with inhuman delight upon the pallid features, and the head was fixed upon the rostrum which had so often been witness to his unequalled eloquence. All that passed by bewailed his death, and gave vent to their affectionate feelings.

Few men have been more maligned, or more misrepresented, than Cicero. Not a breath of suspicion, indeed, has ever sullied his private character, but his political conduct has been attacked in no measured terms. His faults, however, as a politician, were owing to the times in which he lived, over which he had no control, and to the very virtues which adorned his character.

During periods of revolutionary turbulence, moderate men are detested by both sides ; and yet it was totally impossible for a philosophic temper, which could calmly and dispassionately weigh the merits and demerits of both, to sympathize with or to enter, heart and soul, into the cause of either party. Hence Cicero, who was too temperate to approve, and too honest to pretend a zeal which he did not feel, was naturally accused of indecision and cowardice.

Again, pure-minded and gentle as he himself was, he was candid and unsuspicious ; unconscious of guile, he thought not evil of others. He therefore mistook flattery for sincerity, and compliments for kindness. He may have been somewhat vain, as who could be otherwise, whose talents had been so universally appreciated, whose public services had been rewarded by such a golden harvest of public approbation ! When, therefore, he was courted by those in power, he may have been too much delighted, and too ready to reply in the language of adulation. Gentle, benevolent, and affectionate, he lived the life of an honest patriot, and died the death of a firm philosopher.

These days of wholesale bloodshed and violence, paralleled by none perhaps, except the Reign of Terror in France, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, were scarcely over, when Octavianus and Antony crossed over with their armies into Greece, to give battle to Brutus and Cassius, who had been successful in assembling a vast force in Asia. The hostile chiefs met to decide finally the fate of the empire, in Macedonia. Octavianus and Antony were at Amphipolis.

Brutus and Cassius, with an army one hundred thousand strong,\* occupied a position on the heights above Philippi. They had met and united their forces at Sardis, and crossed the Hellespont together. One night before they made the passage, Brutus was sitting in his tent meditating on the gloomy prospect before

\* B.C. 42, A.U.C. 712.



him, when his imagination conjured up a tall spectre, which seemed to say, "I am thine evil genius, we shall meet again at Philippi." In different ways, each army had the advantage of the other. The republicans had a more numerous force, and a better position: the triumvirs better-disciplined soldiers, and more experienced officers.

Encouraged, probably, by their superior numbers, the republican army was eager for battle, and a general engagement ensued: the division under the command of Cassius was soon routed by Antony; Brutus, on the other hand, was victorious. Who was the general of division opposed to him is uncertain, as Octavianus, owing either to sickness or timidity, was not present on the field. Clouds of dust prevented both armies from being aware of the fortune of the day, and neither could claim the victory.

Next morning Cassius despatched a messenger to Brutus to learn his fate, and seeing the man return, together with a detachment of cavalry, which the victorious Brutus had sent to his aid, mistook them for a party of the enemy, and, falling into utter despair, bade a freedman, who was with him, to stab him, lest he should fall into their hands.

By sea the republicans were successful. They had taken and destroyed a fleet of transports, which were bringing, as reinforcements, two legions, besides cavalry. Some days afterwards was fought the decisive battle of Philippi. There was much hard fighting and heroic valour displayed on both sides: but, at length, skill and discipline prevailed, and Brutus and his army fled. From that field the poet Horace fled also, having disgracefully thrown away his shield. When Brutus came to Athens, Horace, who was pursuing his studies there, had embraced the cause of liberty with all the ardour of youth, had followed Brutus to Asia, and had been invested with a military command, for which he was totally unfit. On the night of the battle, Brutus, surrounded by his friends, sat gazing on the

starlit sky, and exclaiming, in the words of Euripides (Med. 333), "O, Zeus, mayest thou not forget who was the guilty cause of these evils," entreated one of them to put him to death. One at length consented, and holding out his sword with averted eyes, Brutus fell upon it and expired.

Octavianus now returned to Italy, and left Antony to proceed to Asia. As he owed everything to the army, so he now sacrificed all to its rapacity. The wretched inhabitants of Italy were pitilessly stripped of their property, in order that it might be conferred on the veterans, as the reward of their service. Military colonies spread over the richest districts of Italy, and the original owners were glad to cultivate, as tenants, the lands of which they were previously the freeholders. Not, as in the days of the republic, were the veterans rewarded with the lands which their bravery had taken from the enemies of their country, but unoffending citizens were robbed by their fellow-countrymen, amidst all the sufferings of revolution and civil war.

Some Romans were aware of this unconstitutional preference of the army, and were prepared to resist it, and when Octavianus arrived at Rome, he found L. Antonius, the brother of Antony, and one of the consuls for the year, opposing, with all his might, this tyrannical injustice. Things came to such a pass, that there was much rioting in the streets of Rome between the soldiers and the populace. Fulvia, the jealous wife of Antony, a woman of violent passions, fanned the flame, thinking that a war in Italy would induce her husband to return; and, at length, open civil war broke out between L. Antonius and Octavianus. It was a feud between the civil and military classes. Antonius, supported by the civilians and the oppressed inhabitants of Italy, threw himself into Perugia,\* where he maintained himself against the blockading force of Octavian as long as his provisions

\* B.C. 41, A.U.C. 713.

held out, but was then obliged to surrender. The town was plundered and burnt, and the principal inhabitants sent to Rome as prisoners; and the next year they were immolated as victims, at an altar erected in honour of Julius Cæsar.

## CHAPTER XXII.

CLEOPATRA MEETS ANTONY—OCTAVIANUS AND ANTONY RECONCILED—SEXTUS POMPEIUS IN SICILY—THE TRIUMVIRATE RENEWED BY THE TREATY OF TARENTUM—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF SEXTUS POMPEY—OCTAVIANUS RIDES HIMSELF OF LEPIDUS—OVATION OF OCTAVIANUS—HONOURS HEAPED UPON OCTAVIANUS—ILL SUCCESS OF ANTONY'S PARTHIAN EXPEDITION—HIS LUXURIOUS PROFLIGACY—OCTAVIANUS WARS WITH THE DALMATIANS, ETC.—GROUNDS FOR A RUPTURE WITH ANTONY—WAR DECLARED AGAINST CLEOPATRA—INCOME AND PROPERTY TAX—ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA SAIL FOR GREECE—BATTLE OF ACTIUM—PELUSIUM ATTACKED—OPERATIONS OF GALLUS—ANTONY DESERTED BY HIS ARMY—DEATHS OF ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

ANTONY, after the battle of Philippi, had passed over into Asia, and entered upon a course of unbridled and profligate licentiousness, unequalled in Roman annals, except in the worst years of imperial power. Captivated even by the report of Cleopatra's charms, he sent for her to meet him at Tarsus, in Cilicia. The beautiful queen of Egypt, conscious of her fascinations, sailed up the Cydnus in a vessel glittering with burnished gold, and waited on by sails of purple. She herself reclined in the stern, attired as Venus, and fanned by attendant Cupids. Antony went with her to Egypt, and became a slave to guilty pleasure and effeminate luxury. From this sensual slumber he was awakened by the intelligence, that the Parthians were in arms.\* They had been urged to take this step by the republican party, who, previous to the battle of Philippi, had sent Labienus to solicit their

\* B.C. 40, A.U.C. 714.

aid. A sense of danger roused him to exertion, which a sense of duty could not do. He did not, however, meet them, for the intelligence of war in Italy tempted him to turn his steps thither, and he left the Parthians to his lieutenant, Ventidius, who gained a signal victory over them, and put Labienus to death.

Meanwhile Antony arrived at Brundisium, fully determined on war with Octavianus, but, by the mediation of Mæcenas, they were reconciled; a marriage was made up between Antony and Octavia, the half-sister of Octavianus, a woman possessing all the noble qualities of a Roman matron, and of whom the profligate Antony was totally unworthy. It was, however, a marriage of policy, and the weaker sex was sacrificed to ambition. The empire was partitioned between the two, Octavianus taking the western half, and Antony the eastern, whither he immediately returned.

Sextus Pompeius was, at this period, master of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica; consequently he had the power of cutting off the supplies of corn to Rome. It was necessary, therefore, that he should be either conciliated or conquered. The ambitious Octavianus preferred the latter, and determined to add this portion of the Roman territory to the dominions which he had already acquired. He got possession of Sardinia and Corsica by treachery, and, accusing Pompey of certain acts of piracy in the Mediterranean, he prepared to invade Sicily, but without success. Antony soon after arrived at Tarentum\* with a large fleet, part of which he placed at the disposal of Octavianus for the prosecution of the war against Pompey; and a treaty was made between them, renewing the triumvirate for five years more.

Great preparations were made, and the war began the following year.† A combined attack was to be simultaneously made upon Sicily by the fleets of the three triumvirs, but a storm dispersed them, and Lepidus alone effected a landing. In one battle by sea Pompey

\* B.C. 37, A.U.C. 717.

† B.C. 36, A.U.C. 718.

gained a victory over Octavianus himself; but, at length, a general engagement took place, in which M. Agrippa commanded the fleet, and Pompey was totally defeated. His army, at the same time, surrendered to the united forces of Octavianus and Lepidus, and he himself escaped to Asia, where he was put to death by order of Antony.

Lepidus, emboldened by the consciousness of having contributed much to the successful termination of the war, claimed Sicily for himself. Octavianus eagerly took advantage of this act of presumption, to get rid of one who stood in the way between himself and absolute power. He first tried to persuade the soldiers of Lepidus to desert him, and when this did not succeed, he attacked his camp, and thus drove them to do so by intimidation. Lepidus, abandoned by all, exchanged his military garb for the attire of a civilian, and humbly begged for mercy. Octavianus deposed him from his triumvirate, and sent him to Rome, where he passed the remainder of his days in the quiet and peaceful dignity of Pontifex Maximus, in the possession of which Octavianus, even when it was offered to himself, refused to disturb him.

Octavianus then returned to Rome and modestly received the honour of an ovation, although there is no doubt that if he had wished, he might have had a triumph; and the public rejoicings were increased by the feeling, that supplies of corn could now pour unimpeded into the port of Rome, and that all danger of dearth and famine was obviated. His army, which, when in Sicily, had shown some signs of discontent, was munificently rewarded with grants of money and land, and a large portion of the fertile district of Campania was distributed amongst his veterans.

Honours were now lavished upon Octavianus with the utmost excess of flattery and servility; but he had acquired by this time not merely empty show, but a substantial augmentation of power. His colleague, Antony, was engaged in the distant war with Parthia, far removed from the opportunity of gaining political in-

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fluence, whilst the deposition of Lepidus had doubled his army, and placed the province of Africa at his disposal.

Antony sustained the most disgraceful defeats in this Parthian expedition. Although he was at the head of an immense and well-supplied force, Phraates the Parthian king, possessed himself of his commissariat, and destroyed a fourth of his army.

For himself he adopted the arbitrary and self-indulgent habits of eastern monarchs, divorced the noble-minded Octavia, and threw himself into the arms of his mistress Cleopatra. With her he lived in luxurious profligacy at Alexandria, and lavished on her countries and kingdoms belonging to the Roman empire. He proclaimed her Queen of Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Judea, and Cyprus, and gave to the two sons which he had by her the ostentatious title of King of Kings.

Meanwhile Octavianus, although his active and energetic mind did not permit him to be lapped in enervating sloth like his colleague, was not more innocently employed, in carrying war and desolation amongst the unoffending Dalmatians, and the harmless tribes of Pannonia, which occupied the country between them and the Danube. He was as unscrupulous in gratifying his lust of conquest as Antony was in the indulgence of his sensual passions.

During the principal part of these uninteresting wars he commanded in person, but on his return to Rome his lieutenant, Statilius Taurus, completed the conquest of the Dalmatians.\*

Octavianus, now in his second consulship, his power and influence established on a firm foundation, the subservience of the senate and people as well as the affection and confidence of the army being secured, began to seek a quarrel with Antony. He had good grounds for a rupture in the insulting treatment to which his sister had been subjected, and the divorce with which he had dishonoured her in order to forsake her for Cleopatra. Again, he had many topics which he could use in order

\* B.C. 33, A.U.C. 721.



to create a public prejudice against him,—his disasters in Parthia, his oriental habits of life, his slavery to a barbarian queen. The year before, the consuls and some of the senators had actually left Rome and gone to Antony, and they had seriously determined on going to war. A rumour, too, got abroad, that it was Antony's intention to desert Rome for ever, and establish in Egypt the capital and head-quarters of the empire.

Public indignation had now risen to such a height that war was declared, not indeed against Antony, but Cleopatra.\* The following year Octavianus was made consul for the third time. A numerous fleet was put under the command of Agrippa, who had been the admiral in the war against Sextus Pompeius; and Octavianus at the head of the army landed in Epirus.

To support the expenses of the war, an income-tax of twenty-five per cent. was imposed upon all the free landed proprietors in Italy, and a still heavier tax of twelve and a half per cent. on capital on all freedmen who were worth fifty thousand denarii (about sixteen hundred pounds). The latter stoutly resisted a burden which pressed so unequally on them. This threw great difficulties in the way of Octavianus; but his own determination, added to the dilatory conduct and want of energy of Antony, enabled him to overcome them all.

Preceded by his army, under the command of his lieutenant Causidius, who was to rendezvous at Corcyra, Antony, together with Cleopatra, sailed for Samos, and thence to Athens. At both these places he wasted time. His preparations were like those of an oriental despot rather than a Roman general. Luxuries of every kind, and musicians and dancers for his entertainment, were as numerous as soldiers and arms and artillery. At length his army arrived at the theatre of war, and encamped at Actium, a promontory at the entrance of the Ambracian gulf. His force consisted of one hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse; his fleet numbered five hundred. The cavalry of Octavianus was equal

\* B.C. 32, A.U.C. 722.

to that of his adversary; his infantry, eighty thousand; his fleet was only half that of Antony's, but his ships were lighter built and better sailers. Hence, the experienced officers of Antony wisely recommended a land engagement, but Cleopatra insisted on the battle being fought by sea. Of this decisive battle, the two armies were drawn up on the shore of the gulf as spectators.

For some time the engagement was maintained with equal fortune; the more skilful manœuvres of the inferior numbers matched the overwhelming force of the enemy. At length Cleopatra alarmed, as a woman naturally might be, took flight with sixty Egyptian ships. Antony soon followed, and fled with her to Alexandria. The deserted fleet fought gallantly until the evening, and then surrendered to Agrippa. The army, after waiting in vain for seven days, unresistingly submitted.

This battle decided the fate of Rome,\* and established on a firm basis the imperial throne. Octavianus in commemoration of it, founded the city of Nicopolis (the city of victory), and sailed for Italy, whither he was recalled by rumours of insubordination amongst the veterans. He soon quelled the mutiny, and then set out for Egypt to prosecute the war.

Cleopatra, although now nearly forty, had still confidence in her fascinations, and sent private proposals to Octavianus for peace, but he firmly declined to negotiate on any terms, unless she would either dismiss Antony or put him to death. He then attacked Pelusium, which, according to secret instructions from Cleopatra, surrendered without striking a blow.

At the same time the other division of his army, under the command of his lieutenant C. Cornelius Gallus, the elegiac poet and friend of Virgil, took Parætonium, and then advanced through Libya upon Alexandria. Both divisions then attacked the capital, and Antony made a last unsuccessful attempt at resistance. But in the silence of the night, lively martial music was heard, as if troops were marching in the direction of the enemy's

\* B.C. 31, A.U.C. 723.

camp: his army had deserted him. Next morning his fleet followed the example of the land forces. In vain he tried one sally; he was beaten back and driven into the city. Then in all the fury of jealous passion he exclaimed that he was betrayed by the faithless Cleopatra, who had lured him to his ruin.

Cleopatra shut herself up with all her treasures, and caused a report to be spread that she was dead. At this intelligence Antony's anger and suspicion melted away, and his love returned in all its ardour. In his despair he bade a faithful freedman kill him. The affectionate servant had not the heart to do it, but plunged his sword into his own breast. Antony then fell upon his own sword. The wound was not fatal immediately, and he lingered a long time in a miserable state, and died in the arms of Cleopatra. She, divided between regret for her lost lover and the desire to captivate the conqueror, listened at first to the persuasions of Proculeius, who was sent by Octavianus to induce her not to put an end to her life. But when she found that his sole intention was to seize her wealth, and reserve her in order to grace his triumph, she resolved to die. Proculeius had removed every apparent means for committing suicide, but she caused an asp to be conveyed to her concealed in a basket of fruit, put it to her breast, and expired.

In a letter to Octavianus, she had desired to be buried in the same tomb to which she had previously consigned the corpse of Antony. Her last request was complied with, and she was honoured with a magnificent funeral. Thus, together with its last sovereign, perished the time-honoured monarchy of Egypt, which became a mere province of the still more powerful empire of Rome.\*

\* B.C. 30, A.U.C. 724.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

OCTAVIANUS RETURNS TO ROME—HIS THREE TRIUMPHS—TEMPLE OF JANUS CLOSED—STATE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE—ROME AN INSTRUMENT OF PROVIDENCE FOR GOOD—EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE AT THIS TIME—ITS REVENUES AND POPULATION—THE ALTERED CONDUCT AND POLICY OF AUGUSTUS—EXAMPLES OF IT—FLOURISHING ERA OF LATIN POETRY—INFLUENCE OF MÆCENAS—CORRUPT STATE OF MORALS—RAPACITY OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS—POLICE REGULATIONS—PLOTS AGAINST THE LIFE OF THE EMPEROR—THE PRÆTORIAN GUARDS EMBODIED—ARRANGEMENT OF THE PROVINCES.

Of this empire Octavianus was now the sole and undisputed possessor, and he had every means at his disposal for building up his influence and gaining the affections of his people. The spoils of Cleopatra poured boundless wealth into his treasury; a tax, amounting to two-thirds of the whole property of the country, paid all the expenses of the war and satisfied the most rapacious desires of the soldiery. He rewarded Gallus, the conqueror of Parætonium, with the office of præfect of this new and valuable province.

After arranging all matters for the government of Egypt, and employing the leisure time of his soldiers in clearing the canals which the inundations of the Nile had filled with mud and silt, he marched through Syria into Asia, where he wintered, and in the summer of the next year he crossed over to Samos, and thence returned to Rome.

Three triumphs, on three successive days, commemorating his victories in Dalmatia, at Actium, and in Egypt, added splendour to his entry into the capital, which was henceforth to be his own, and inaugurated the bright dawn of his empire. The strict and honourable payment of all moneys borrowed, the most profuse munificence and liberal largesses to both soldiers and citizens, the remission of all arrears of taxation, displayed at once his justice and generosity, gained the affections of all

classes, and prepared them to welcome the new state of things as that which in reality it proved to be—a national blessing. Peace was proclaimed throughout the Roman world, and the temple of Janus was consequently closed.

The fame of his victory had, of course, preceded him in the autumn of the previous year, and honours and distinctions were lavished upon him even before his triumphant arrival. The day of his birth and of his victory were constituted state holidays. The senate took a solemn oath to ratify his acts, and, a few years afterwards,\* the new title of Augustus was conferred upon him; the month Sextilis, on the Kalends (the first) of which Alexandria had surrendered, was called Augustus in his honour, and he was invested with the office of imperator (which we translate emperor), or commander-in-chief of the army, which was ever after the title borne by his successors in the monarchy.

It is plain, from the past history and civil strife which had deluged Rome with blood, even from the days of the Gracchi, that her citizens had long been unfitted for republican liberty. The dying embers of the old stern Roman love of freedom smouldered only in the breasts of a few patriots. Even these were now quite extinct. The republican party, during the triumvirates, were not inspired with any affection for the old constitutional principles, the safety of which were threatened, but solely by a desire for their own aggrandisement. The only hope of peace and security was the concentration of power in the hands of one who had intellect and honesty to administer it faithfully, and to rescue the commonwealth from the danger of being torn to pieces by the bloody hands of selfish factions.

The empire required rest and breathing time to develop the abundant resources which conquest had placed at its disposal, and to reap the fruits of that intellectual energy which times of peril had brought forth and nurtured. Divine Providence, in carrying out His benevo-

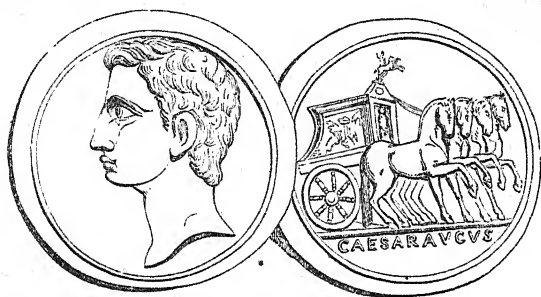
\* B.C. 27, A.U.C. 727.

lent designs for the good of mankind—nay, even for our redemption and salvation—had made use of Rome as an awful instrument for bringing good out of evil, for extending the blessings of peace over a vast portion of the world, even by the means of selfish and sanguinary wars, and thus preparing the world for the advent of the Prince of Peace. So far as we are permitted to discern in the records of history, the mode in which God has been graciously pleased to work, the establishment of the absolute sway of Augustus was the greatest blessing not only to Rome herself, but, in an intellectual, moral, and religious point of view, to the whole of mankind.

There are good reasons to be discerned why Rome should now be at the extreme height of her national greatness. As a conqueror she had performed her work; she had nothing left to conquer which could be any benefit or profitable acquisition. All the civilized world was hers; the wars of the emperors were with barbarians, who could not add strength and wealth to the national resources, or refinement to that literary taste which Greece had engrafted on Roman native talent. The extent of that empire, which had risen up in a little more than seven centuries, seems almost inconceivable. It spread over more than ninety degrees of longitude, and forty-five degrees of latitude. In Europe it comprehended Italy, Gaul, Spain, Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Illyricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia. In Asia, Roman arms had subdued Syria, Palestine, Media, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and the whole of Asia Minor: it reached from the Caucasus to the gulfs of Arabia and Persia. In Africa, the whole coast of the Mediterranean, including Egypt, now owned the imperial sway. From this enormous dominion the revenue was, as may be readily imagined, enormous, amounting annually, according to some not improbable accounts, to forty millions sterling; and the army, which the state maintained throughout its dependencies, and which was under the sole control and at the entire disposal of the emperor, consisted of no less than four hundred and fifty thousand men. The



daily pay of each soldier was a denarius, or sevenpence three farthings, which was probably the day's wages of a labourer or artisan. And this enormous empire, besides the masses of native populations, which were not included in the census, contained more than four millions of men capable of bearing arms, who, some in a greater, others in a less degree, enjoyed the franchise and privileges of Roman citizens.



COIN OF AUGUSTUS.

It appears to have been the policy of Augustus to rule this vast dominion, over which he was intrusted with nothing less than absolute and despotic power, by the quiet exertion of personal influence, rather than the tyrannical exercise of authority. Although it cannot be supposed that his character really changed, nevertheless the manifestation of it in his public acts was totally different from what it had been before. He showed that he had no wish for cruelty, no delight in vengeance, now that he had no longer any one to fear. Tact, moderation, and liberality, totally free from suspicion towards others, henceforward mark all his measures. A clear-sighted view of all that is for the permanent welfare of a state, and which contributes to that great blessing, a strong government, of whatever form, is discernible everywhere; a determination not to assume positions which do not really add to power, whilst they expose to envy and distrust; and, lastly, a resolution to leave

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power in the hands of others, so far as he knew it would not be exercised to his own detriment. Nominally, the constitution of Rome was still republican. He altered nothing in this respect; he left the shadow of political power in the hands of those who had a constitutional right to wield it; but while he gave up the empty show with which the Romans were then quite satisfied, he himself retained the reality.

Let us take a few examples. The municipalities of Italy offered to him on his return, crowns of gold, but he would not accept them. The fawning senate wished to create him dictator; he refused to hold this extraordinary magistracy. Nevertheless, he accepted the honorary title of Augustus,\* the office of *Princeps Senatus*, which gave him the important privilege of originating all bills to be brought before the senate, the tribuneship of the plebeians, which made him the legal protector of that class, the title of *Imperator*, which doubtless had a talismanic effect with the army, and which symbolized the nature of the Roman monarchy; for it was nothing else but a military despotism.

On the other hand, he left the senate its unpopular right of being the high court of judicature in cases of treason. He did not, like Julius Cæsar, deprive the comitia of their power, but left it to the prestige and natural influence of the imperial power to prevent any other than the court candidates from being elected. He reduced the number of the senate to six hundred, by removing from it all those whose fortune or moral character rendered them unsuitable; but he left them that for which Romans cared far more in those degenerate days—the external insignia of dress, namely, a robe, with a broad purple stripe, and the principal seats in the theatre. Wisely, however, he would not assume the responsibility of governing alone, but selected a cabinet council of twenty out of the senate, the result of whose influence with the body was such that no measure proposed by the emperor, in council, was ever rejected. Nay, so far did

\* B.C. 27, A.U.C. 727.

he carry his show of moderation, and of respect for the old constitution, that he professed a wish to resign all his power, and to retire into private life. He yielded, however, with a show of unwillingness, to the solicitations of Agrippa and Mæcenas, who besought him not to desert the republic which he had saved, and to continue to be the pilot of the state vessel, which, when all but wrecked, he had steered safely into port.

The latter of these two friends of Augustus was a remarkable man, and the influence which he exercised over the emperor is very evident. He was of illustrious descent, tracing his pedigree, as Horace tells us, from the royal houses of Etruria. He possessed a refined taste in art and literature, and his character displayed that gentleness and humanity which are usually the moral result of refinement. Augustus thus became the promoter of art and literature, the patron of learned men, the embellisher of his capital. The Augustan age was proverbially the golden age of Roman poetry; although prose had begun to decline, the imperial court fostered and protected talent and genius; and, with respect to the embellishment of the imperial city itself, Augustus is said to have found Rome a city of brick, and to have left it one of marble.

The most admired of those classical poets, who have been at once the delight, and have mainly contributed to form the taste of the civilized world, flourished in the brief space during which Augustus occupied the throne. Epic, didactic, and pastoral poetry, received its highest polish and perfection from Virgil. Horace was publishing his stirring and passionate odes, and his shrewd and observant philosophy. The Muse of Catullus, the sweetest of all Latin poets, had ceased her strains; but they were still prolonged by Tibullus, in his graceful and plaintive elegies, and in the elegant correctness of Propertius. Ovid was displaying his facility for versification, which he himself tells us was so great that, even when a boy, whatever he wrote naturally and without effort took the form of a verse. The historian Livy was also compiling

his annals and legends, and those interesting narratives which no one has ever surpassed.

Literature was evidently not indigenous to Rome. It was an exotic plant, transplanted to a new and not very genial climate. It required the most encouraging care and gentle culture to bring it to maturity, and this care it met with under the fostering protection of Augustus and his friends.

The moral influence of Mæcenas, and such as he, was also very striking. We see no more of that cold and heartless cruelty, that total disregard of the happiness of others, which deformed the early life of Augustus; if he was heartless, he at least did that as a matter of taste, which a better man would have done on principle; and if he was still selfish, he sought fame and glory by the wise and beneficent councils of peace, rather than by the brilliant triumphs of war,—he conciliated friends, instead of crushing enemies.

But, notwithstanding the taste and the refinement which prevailed, the state of public and private morals remained as corrupt as it had been for many years. The wealthy Romans were not content with dwelling in palaces fit for kings, and enjoying all the luxuries which riches could purchase, but self-indulgence led to the grossest sensuality, intemperance, gluttony, and profligacy; and the drain upon their resources to supply this wasteful extravagance, was the parent of avarice and unscrupulousness as to the means of gaining wealth. Augustus himself set the higher classes a good example in this respect, but it was not followed. With all its elegant refinement, the court of Augustus had none of the ostentatious splendour of a royal residence. It bore the appearance of the simple household of a private gentleman.

The government of provinces was sought merely as a means of replenishing empty coffers; and the hard-earned pittance of the poor provincials was wrung from them, to supply the wanton luxury of their governors. The condition of the lower orders was equally degraded.

Bands of robbers and assassins prowled nightly through the streets of Rome, and had their hiding-places in the wild parts of the country round. The wickedness of the higher classes was beyond the reach of the imperial power. Although Augustus endeavoured to restrain the oppressive exactions of the provincial governors, by assigning them a liberal fixed salary, in order to place them above temptation to extortion, yet this wise precaution was not wholly successful. But he remedied the other evil by stringent regulations. A well-ordered police watched over the safety of the city by night; it was divided into fourteen wards, each with its local police magistrate; and a mayor or prefect was appointed to preside over the whole. All Italy was in the same way parcelled out into districts, in every one of which justice was administered by an accredited officer.

Such were the wise ordinances, political and social, by which Augustus ruled this stupendous empire. But an absolute monarch, however wise, is always in personal danger; he is a mark for mad discontent, and jealous envy, and false patriotism. Hence his quiet, and the stability of his power, were not unfrequently threatened by plots against his life. In one of them he eminently displayed the new-born clemency and generosity of his character. The ringleader of the revolt was the grandson of Pompey, Cornelius Cinna. Augustus not only pardoned him, but conferred on him the consulship.\*—"Twice," he said, "I have spared your life, first as a public, now as a private, foe; let us henceforth be friends."

Augustus was conscious of this peril, and there is no doubt that constitutionally he was a timid man; his absence from the battle of Actium was accounted for on the score of illness, but it was rumoured that it was owing to fear; he constantly, like Cromwell, wore armour under his clothes, and he now still further provided for his personal security, by the formation

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of a body of household troops, the celebrated prætorian guards. They consisted of ten regiments, partly cavalry, and partly infantry. Three of them were quartered in Rome, the rest dispersed in country quarters through the towns of Italy.

The arrangement of the provinces is an evidence of the purely military character of the imperial government. All the provinces in which a standing army was maintained, belonged to Augustus as emperor, all the rest to the senate and people. The emperor had the sole control of his own provinces, nominated the governors, and appropriated the revenues. The governors of the imperial provinces bore the title of legati, those of the senatorial were called proconsuls, or proprætors.

This was an enormous source of wealth to the emperor, in addition to his private property, and sundry taxes and duties, and it placed at his disposal vast revenues; but out of them he had to pay the army, as well as to supply the means of his private expenditure.

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

PEACEABLE POLICY OF AUGUSTUS—HIS WARLIKE OPERATIONS GENERALLY DEFENSIVE ONLY—WARS IN SPAIN THE EXCEPTION—CANDACE, QUEEN OF ÆTHIOPIA, CONQUERED—CRASSUS CONQUERS THE DACIANS—CAMPAIGN IN THE ALPS—AUGUSTUS VISITS GREECE AND SYRIA—WAR IN GERMANY—VICTORIES AND DEATH OF DRUSUS—WARS OF TIBERIUS AND GERMANICUS—CONSPIRACY AGAINST VARUS—LOSS OF HIS LEGIONS—BIRTH OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST—LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF AUGUSTUS—HIS CHARACTER—HIS DOMESTIC SORROWS—HIS WILL—DIVINE HONOURS PAID TO HIM.

THE history of Rome becomes, with Augustus, entirely the history of individuals; the people seem to have deservedly lost our sympathy, and the whole interest centres, henceforth, in the personal biography of those who have become its masters. The struggles for freedom and independence have been long over, those



between adverse factions and rival politicians, fighting, not for their country, but for their own aggrandisement, have merged in the success of one who is now raised beyond the reach of rivals or competitors. The characteristics of Augustus's reign, are internal peace and tranquillity. His own disposition naturally rendered him averse to war, and he wisely saw that his power was to be established and maintained by the arts of peace, and by wise internal regulations. But, notwithstanding the peaceable inclinations of the emperor, it was not probable that an empire so extensive could be undisturbed by aggressive war on its frontiers, so far distant from the seat of government. War was sure to find Augustus, even if he felt no desire to seek it. He, however, had no lust of increasing his dominions: he repelled aggressions, but did not provoke them.

One cannot, however, suppose, when we know the rapacity of provincial governors, and the opportunities which they had for gratifying it, that the different insurrections in the distant provinces, which the armies of Augustus quelled, were unprovoked, but still when they did break out, it was necessary to subjugate the offenders; they were not aggressive wars, they were not undertaken for the sake of increased territories.

The only exception to this rule was the Spanish war; in which he was personally engaged.\* He evidently thought, that if Spain was a Roman province, there could be no stability until the whole acknowledged his supremacy; that there could be no real boundary to the west, except the ocean, as the other boundaries were the Rhine and the Danube. The Cantabrians and Asturians had not yet learnt to submit to the Roman yoke, they still maintained their independence, and against them the force of Roman arms was now directed.† Illness delayed Augustus on his march, but in the third year of the war they were subdued. Memorials of this expedition still remain in the modern

\* B.C. 27, A.U.C. 727.

† B.C. 22, A.U.C. 732.

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names of those colonies which he then founded, for the conquests of Augustus were not marked by desolation, but by the establishment of centres of civilization. The modern towns of Saragossa, Merida, Beja, Badajoz, and Leon, are built on the sites of Cæsar Augusta, Julia Emerita, Pax Julia, Pax Augusta, and Leon, and partially retain the Roman names.

The same year in which the complete subjugation of the Cantabri took place,\* Candace, queen of the Æthiopians, who is mentioned in the "Acts of the Apostles," invaded Egypt, took several Roman garrisons, and spread desolation through the country. She was, however, entirely defeated by C. Petronius, the governor of Egypt, and reduced to sue for mercy, which the clemency of Augustus readily granted her.

The Dacian tribes also frequently took advantage of the ice to cross the river and harass the Roman province, but Crassus, the legatus, repulsed them and secured the Danube as the frontier of the empire. Another expedition took place, which ended successfully, against the mountaineers of the Alps, who, although subdued by Julius Cæsar, were still in the enjoyment of sufficient independence to menace the safety of northern Italy. The permanent results of this campaign were the foundation of the military colonies of Augusta Prætoria (Aoste), and Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg).†

Some disturbances in Gaul, although quelled by Agrippa, and the insecurity of the Rhenish frontier, which was threatened by some of the German tribes, rendered the emperor's personal presence in that province necessary: nor did Augustus only visit those parts of the empire which were the theatre of war. He made a progress through Greece, and passed the winter in Samos.‡ He then made an expedition to Syria to assist Tiridates, who had been expelled from his throne by Phraates; but the latter purchased

\* B.C. 20, A.U.C. 734.

† B.C. 16, A.U.C. 738.

‡ B.C. 21, A.U.C. 733.

the friendship of the emperor by restoring the trophies of war which had been captured in the disastrous campaign of Crassus and Antony. Whilst at Samos an embassy was sent to him, with rich presents from Pandion, an Indian prince, which was favourably received.\* After this he returned to Rome to receive fresh marks of adulation, and the prolongation of the imperial power for five years more.† In B.C. 15 he went to Gaul, where he remained two years, and on his return to Rome left the conduct of the war to his stepson, Drusus. His other stepson, Tiberius, was at this time carrying on the war against the Pannonians. These German wars, which outlived him, were the most obstinate with which he had to contend.

Germany presented little temptation either to the ambition or the avarice of a general: the country on the east of the Rhine was then almost entirely one vast extent of forest, mountain, and morass; nevertheless, the obstinacy with which the warlike inhabitants annoyed the frontier, rendered it necessary for Drusus to cross the Rhine, and strike terror into the invaders.‡

He subdued, in succession, the Usipetes, Sicambri, Catti, and Cherusci. In the last of these expeditions he was so much injured by a fall from his horse, that he died, to the inexpressible grief of Augustus, who loved him as a son.§

His elder brother, Tiberius, succeeded him in his command,|| and his victories over the Germans were deemed worthy of a triumph, and the title of Imperator. Wars were carried on and revolts quelled under Tiberius and Germanicus, which present little or no historical interest; the Roman arms were, upon the whole, successful, although the empire gained no accession either of strength or glory: they were soon, however, destined to experience a terrible reverse.

\* B.C. 20, A.U.C. 734.

† B.C. 18, A.U.C. 736.

‡ B.C. 11, A.U.C. 743.

§ B.C. 9, A.U.C. 745.

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P. Quinctilius Varus,\* who had been governor of Syria, and had been an object of universal detestation on account of his rapacity, was appointed to the command of the army in Germany; he was as much hated there as he had been in Syria. Arminius (Hermann), a young Cheruscan, who was an officer of auxiliaries in the Roman army, organized a conspiracy against him; a revolt broke out amongst the German tribes at his instigation; and as Varus was marching against them through the intricacies of a thick forest, Arminius and the Cherusci fell upon the Romans and almost cut them off to a man: Varus himself put an end to his own life. These legions were the flower of the Roman army, and the loss of them was a deep affliction to Augustus, a blow from which he never perfectly recovered. Often was he heard to exclaim in the anguish of his heart: "O Varus, Varus! give me back my legions!"

In this reign, which formed the commencement of the Roman empire, a kingdom was founded which, for the blessings with which it was fraught to mankind, transcends all the kingdoms of the world, and which is destined to surpass them in extent, "for the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of God and of his Christ." In the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Augustus, the fourth year before the Christian era, as commonly calculated, was born in the distant province of Judea, in the city of David, our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, author of all spiritual good. He has also been the giver of temporal prosperity, and the herald of civilization; and even those who are ignorant of His name, or deny His power, cannot avoid profiting by the temporal blessings of His Gospel.

Augustus was now an old man, and the cares of the government pressed heavily upon him. The year before his death, when he was seventy-four years of age,† the imperium was prolonged to him for ten years, but he associated his adopted stepson, Tiberius, with himself as a colleague. Tiberius, the ensuing year, proceeded to

\* A.D. 9, A.U.C. 762.

† A.D. 13, A.U.C. 766.

take the command in Illyricum, and Augustus accompanied him as far as Naples. On his return he was seized with illness at Nola, and there, on the 19th of August, he died in the arms of Livia.\* A short time before his death, he asked his friends, who stood around, whether he had acted his part well on the stage of human life. On receiving an answer in the affirmative, he added, "Plaudite" (applaud me), as was the custom of the Roman actors at the conclusion of the play. Livia concealed his death until Tiberius was acknowledged as his successor; his body was then borne to Rome, and burnt in the Campus Martius, and the ashes buried in a splendid sepulchre which he had himself erected.

The character of Augustus is so plainly developed in his history, that but a few words are necessary. He had great tact and shrewdness, which in after life became improved into the prudence and discernment of a wise sovereign. He was selfish, but, fortunately, owing partly to a natural refinement, partly to the influence of intelligent and cultivated minds, his enjoyments were of that simple and polished character, which were a blessing to his people. He was timid, and therefore naturally disinclined to war, at a crisis, when above all others, perhaps, the welfare of the empire required peace. He was never gratuitously cruel, although he was unscrupulous and unfeeling as to the infliction of cruelty when he thought it necessary to promote his ends. When that necessity was removed, the gentle and amiable qualities of his nature exerted their influence unimpeded, and his rule was marked by mildness, mercy, and clemency. One can never divest oneself of the idea that he was heartless and insincere, that he looked upon himself as an actor who had a great and difficult part to play, and that his last words were characteristic of the motives which actuated him. His private life was embittered by much domestic sorrow. His ambitious wife, the divorced Livia, is suspected to have caused the death of both his grandsons, Lucius and Caius Caesar, who died in the flower of youth,

\* A.D. 14, A.U.C. 767.

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in order to secure the succession for Tiberius, her son by her former husband, Tiberius Nero, and the barefaced profligacy of his daughter Julia became so notorious, that he was obliged to banish her to the island of Pandataria, and her daughter, who was as bad as herself, to the little island of Tremerus.

By his will, he adopted Livia into the Julian family, and gave her the title of Augusta. He made her and Tiberius his heirs, and bequeathed large legacies to the prætorians, the soldiers, and the citizens. He left for the direction of his successors, memoranda containing a schedule of all the resources of the empire, instructions as to the policy to be pursued, especially a warning against extending the frontiers any further. He thought the empire even now almost too unwieldy. He saw that nature had fixed limits which would be at once boundaries to Rome's ambition, and bulwarks against foreign foes; the Rhine and Danube on the north, the Euphrates on the east, the deserts of Africa on the south, and on the west the restless and stormy waters of the vast Atlantic ocean. Fortunately, the self-indulgent profligacy, and the luxurious indolence of the successors of Augustus, induced them to pursue the line of policy which he had advised; and hence, during the first century of the Christian era, the Roman empire acquired no new territory, except the island of Britain. Divine honours were paid to him, and one senator was bribed to declare that he witnessed with his own eyes the deceased emperor's ascension into heaven.



## CHAPTER XXV.

ACCESSION OF TIBERIUS—HIS CHARACTER—MURDER OF AGRIPPA POSTUMUS—POPULARITY AND MERIT OF GERMANICUS—TIBERIUS RECALLS HIM AND SENDS HIM TO THE EAST—AFFAIRS OF PARTHIA AND ARMENIA—PISO SENT TO SYRIA—SUCCESS OF GERMANICUS—HIS DEATH AT ANTIOCH—ARRIVAL OF HIS WIDOW AT ROME—THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS VERY LITTLE DISTURBED BY WAR—POLITICAL CHANGES—TYRANNY OF THE LATTER YEARS OF TIBERIUS—RISE OF SEJANUS—HIS HISTORY—TIBERIUS RETIRES TO CAPRI—FALL OF SEJANUS—CONSPIRACY OF MACRO AND CAIUS CÆSAR AGAINST TIBERIUS—HIS DEATH—CRUCIFIXION OF OUR LORD—CHARACTER OF TIBERIUS BY TACITUS.

## TIBERIUS CÆSAR.

THE first acts of Tiberius, on his accession, mark his character; he was of a reserved and dark disposition, possessed a complete mastery over himself, and could exercise at all times the profoundest dissimulation. Although he was anxious to secure the imperial power, he at first declined it. When the senate pressed it upon him, he pleaded the magnitude of the empire, and his own insufficiency. He said, that, when he was only a colleague of Augustus, he had experienced how arduous, how perilous was the task of governing; he hinted, but in vague and obscure language, which carefully concealed his real meaning, that they should not confer supreme power upon one, when there were so many illustrious men, who could bear the burden in common.

The grovelling senators rushing headlong into slavery, then had recourse to lamentations, tears, and prayers; they even prostrated themselves before him, and embraced his knees as suppliants. After much more hypocritical coquetry, Tiberius consented to undertake the toils of government, on condition that they would relieve him from them when old age and infirmity required retirement and repose.

His suspicious, and at the same time unrelenting dis-

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position, prompted, at the very commencement of his reign, a secret assassination.\* Agrippa Postumus, the grandson of Augustus, by Julia, a young man as profligate as his mother, shared her exile in Planasium. Tiberius, pretending that he was acting in obedience to the injunctions of Augustus, sent a centurion to assassinate him; and, with his accustomed falsehood, when the man announced that the murder was committed, he denied that he had ever authorized it, and threatened that he would call him to account before the senate.



COIN OF TIBERIUS.

The next object of his suspicion was his nephew Germanicus, the son of his brother Drusus. He was a youth of great promise, which his services in Germany had amply fulfilled, and, at the request of Augustus, Tiberius had adopted him as his son. The legions under his command, discontented at the illegal prolongation of their time of service, mutinied. They had right on their side, and therefore Tiberius yielded to their demands.

The virtues and heroism of Germanicus had made him the idol of the legions, and immediately on their hearing of the death of Augustus, they resolved to declare him emperor. Germanicus was, however, as resolutely loyal to his sovereign and adopted father; he calmed the eager desires of the soldiers, and led them

\* A.D. 14, A.U.C. 767.

on to fresh conquests. He penetrated into the most difficult parts of Germany, paid the last honours to the remains of the ill-fated legions of Varus, by a grand military funeral, and by his brilliant success added fresh lustre to the Roman arms, whilst at the same time he increased his own popularity. His bravery was only equalled by his modesty, for on the monuments of his victories he inscribed simply the name of the army which he had commanded, and the tribes which he had conquered, and left his own name to the recollections of futurity.

But notwithstanding his virtues, his services, and his loyalty, the suspicious Tiberius was jealous of the universal esteem in which he was held, both by the army and the people;\* he therefore recalled him. He concealed his resentment and jealousy by the offer of the consulship, a splendid triumph, and by pretending to join in the universal rejoicings with which he was welcomed home. He then sent him to administer the affairs of the eastern provinces. Commotions in this distant portion of the empire gave him an opportunity of appointing him to a command where he would be exposed to fresh perils, and unprotected against secret treachery.

The throne of Parthia being vacant, the nobles had sent to Rome for Vonones, the son of Phraates, who had resided there a long time as a hostage. At first his accession was welcomed with rejoicings; but soon his foreign manner rendered him unpopular, and the Parthians began to be ashamed of being ruled over by a slave of Cæsar. They set up therefore, as a rival, Artabanus, one of the royal family of the Arsacidæ. He dethroned Vonones, who took refuge in Armenia. The throne of Armenia also chanced to be vacant, and the people set Vonones on the throne.

Artabanus, consequently, in pursuit of Vonones, invaded Armenia, which was a Roman province, and thus rendered the interference of Rome necessary. To

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compose these disturbances, was the commission of Germanicus. At the same time, the crafty Tiberius sent out Cn. Piso, who had a personal feeling of hostility against Germanicus, as governor of Syria, to be a thorn in his side, and he was accompanied by his wife Plancina, a malignant and artful woman.

Germanicus met with his usual deserved success; he set Zeno on the throne of Armenia, as the nominee of Rome; made Cilicia and Comagena Roman provinces, and reduced the king of Parthia to submission. What the schemes of Piso were, it is impossible to say, but strong suspicions rest upon him and his wife, of having removed Germanicus by poison. However this may be, on his return from Egypt, whither he had gone to view the wonders of the country, he was taken ill at Antioch, and after a few days died.\* He was as much beloved by the provincials, as he had been at Rome.

What part Tiberius acted in this dark tragedy, will probably never be known; Piso was accused of the murder of Germanicus, but before any verdict was given, sudden death, or suicide, or the imperial mandate, removed the culprit, and he "carried the secret with him to the grave." The sorrow at Rome on the death of Germanicus was universal and overwhelming, and the arrival of his widow Agrippina at Rome, with her orphan children, was attended with public demonstrations of affectionate sympathy.

The reign of Tiberius was undisturbed by any important wars. Revolts and commotions occurred in different parts on the frontier, similar to those in Germany, which have already been mentioned. Those in Gaul were quelled by C. Silius; those on the Danube by Drusus, the son of Tiberius, who commanded the forces there, and lastly there was an insurrection in Africa. It is, however, probable that such wars as these did not affect the Roman empire either morally, socially, or politically, more than wars in India or China, or with the Cafirs at the Cape of Good Hope,

\* A.D. 19, A.U.C. 772.

affect the people of England. They were too distant to exercise any influence; too unimportant to affect either for good or for evil the safety and resources of the empire.

At home, however, the political circumstances of the state were rapidly undergoing a fearful change. Rome was now beginning to feel that she was indeed crushed under the yoke of a tyrant, and had lost even the shadow of liberty, which had so long consoled her citizens for the loss of the reality. Tiberius, secure upon his throne, now threw off the mask, and displayed that malicious temper, which his duplicity had so long concealed. The remaining years of his reign display a melancholy picture of tyranny, lust, and cruelty.

The outward form of popular election had existed up to this time, but now even that ceased, and the senate, who were the slaves and creatures of the emperor, chose the magistrates, and the provinces were assigned according to the imperial will and pleasure.

A new interpretation was given to the term "treason;" hitherto it had been considered any offence against the majesty of the people, it now implied any one committed against the person of the emperor. Hence, no one was safe whom the jealousy of Tiberius marked out as its victim. The sure way to imperial favour, was by pointing out a real or pretended enemy to the sovereign, and then by relentlessly pursuing him to destruction. Rome swarmed with political spies, and public informers. The ties of family were broken asunder. No one could trust his nearest relations or most intimate friends.

A minister to his cruel malice, and a willing spy into the private lives and habits of his subjects, was readily found in the person of the notorious M. Elius Sejanus. This base and bad man was a Volscian by birth, of equestrian rank, of licentious morals, and unbounded ambition; a servile flatterer, a panderer to the emperor's worst vices, and his counterpart in the arts of craft and dissimulation. By these means he wound himself into the confidence of the emperor,\* who placed him in close

\* A.D. 20, A.U.C. 773.

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attendance on his person, by appointing him to the command of the prætorian guard. The senate paid court to him, by erecting statues to his honour.

The ambitious favourite was not content with unbounded influence, but aimed at being the successor to the empire itself. With a view to that, he first encamped all the prætorian guards close to Rome,\* thinking that by his influence as their prefect, he could depend upon their co-operation in his object. He then prevailed upon the emperor, whose thoughts, now that he was in the impotency of an old age enfeebled by debauchery, were centred in the most profligate pleasures, to retire from public life. The sunny island of Capreæ (Capri), in the beautiful bay of Naples, the rock-bound coasts of which made it an asylum of perfect security, was chosen as his retreat. Public business was left in the hands of Sejanus; there was no access to the emperor except through him. Surrounded by companions almost as depraved as himself; hideous in mind, and disgusting in body, Tiberius passed his days and nights in pampering and exciting appetites, which, from disease and indulgence, he had almost ceased to feel.

But whilst Tiberius was wrapped up in sensuality, and was forgetful of the world without, his people had no respite, for Sejanus was the instrument of his cruelty and tyranny. Nor did he spare the tyrant's family, in his wish to remove all obstacles to his ambitious designs. He seduced Livia, the wife of Drusus, and persuaded her to poison her husband; he worked upon the timidity of the doting tyrant, and persuaded him that it was essential to his safety, to banish Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, and to throw his sons, Nero and Drusus, into prison, where he starved them to death. The vilest informers found in him a patron, and the noblest in Rome were his victims.

At last, he went too far, and divine vengeance, which he had so long provoked, overtook him in his guilty

\* A.D. 23, A.U.C. 776.



career. His fall was as rapid as his rise. The fears of Tiberius were awakened; Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, told him, that, whilst Sejanus lived, his life was in danger. With his usual dissimulation, the emperor compassed his vile favourite's ruin. A long and verbose letter, in the emperor's usual obscure style, came from Capri to the senate, but they, delighted at the opportunity, understood it immediately, jumped at the conclusion, and even outstripped his orders. They at once condemned and executed him. The fickle people, who had before crouched and trembled before him, now vied with each other in insulting his senseless corpse, dragged it through the streets, and flung it into the Tiber. His statues were thrown from their pedestals, nor was the public vengeance glutted, until all the members of his family were tortured and put to death.\*

Thus fell this wretched man; nor did his still more despicable master survive him many years. His cruelty now became madness; Rome was a perfect slaughter-house; the most barbarous tortures were inflicted daily; and many, against whose innocence there was not the semblance of suspicion, were executed.†

At length Macro, who had arrested Sejanus, and succeeded him as prime minister, and who was, if possible, as bad as his predecessor, conspired with Caius Caesar, the only surviving son of Germanicus, to put the tyrant to death. Once Tiberius was thought to be dead; Caius, without delay, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; but he revived, and Macro, fearing his vengeance, had him smothered under a heap of garments.

In the reign of this monster of depravity, and at a period when Roman morals had reached their zenith of vice and pollution, the Saviour of mankind died upon the cross, a sacrifice for the sins of man.‡ The early writers of the Christian Church state that Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator of Judæa, sent a rescript to

\* A.D. 31, A.U.C. 784.

† A.D. 37, A.U.C. 790.

‡ A.D. 29, A.U.C. 782.

Tiberius, detailing our blessed Lord's miracles, death, and resurrection; and that the emperor proposed, though without success, that Jesus Christ should be enrolled amongst the Roman deities; but there is no proper historical testimony to support this tradition.

Tiberius died in the seventy-eighth year of his age, on the seventeenth day before the kalends of April (March 16th), A.D. 37; he nominated no successor, but left this point for fate, or rather Divine Providence, to decide. "His character," says Tacitus, "was different at different periods of his life. So long as he was a private citizen, and even when, as his colleague, he was under the influence of Augustus, his reputation was unsullied, his life exemplary. Whilst Germanicus and Drusus survived, his dark and crafty disposition put on the semblance of virtue. During the lifetime of his mother, his character displayed a mixture of good and evil. He indulged his passions in secret, so long as he loved and feared Sejanus. Lastly, he broke out into open and disgraceful depravity, when, lost to all sense of fear and shame, he gave reins without restraint to his vicious nature."

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

JOY AT THE ACCESSION OF CALIGULA—HIS POPULAR AND MODERATE CONDUCT—DEATH OF PONTIUS PILATE—TOTAL CHANGE IN THE EMPEROR'S CONDUCT—THE PROBABLE MORAL CAUSES OF IT—EXTRAVAGANCE OF HIS VICES—HIS MAD FOLLIES AND ABSURDITIES—HIS MEANS OF REPLENISHING THE EXHAUSTED TREASURY—CONSPIRACY OF CHÆREA—CALIGULA KILLED—ANARCHY SUCCEEDS—CLAUDIUS PROCLAIMED EMPEROR—COMMENCES HIS REIGN WELL—HIS INTELLECTUAL DEFICIENCIES—PUBLIC WORKS IN HIS REIGN—FOREIGN AFFAIRS—MAURITANIA—PALESTINE—BRITAIN, ETC.—STORY OF PÆTUS AND ARRIA—EDUCATION OF NERO BY BURRUS AND SENECA—HIS ADOPTION—AGRIPPINA EMPLOYS LOCUSTA TO POISON CLAUDIUS—HIS DEATH.

### CAIUS CÆSAR (CALIGULA).

THERE was universal joy in Rome at the accession of Caius Cæsar. He was the son of the beloved Germanicus and the virtuous Agrippina. His face and figure

resembled his great father in beauty and grace, and the nation fondly hoped that his character would be like his also. As a child he was brought up in his father's camp; he was the pet of the soldiers, and was nicknamed Caligula (little boots), from the caliga, or boot, usually worn by the privates in the Roman army.

The commencement of his reign was sufficiently popular; he entertained the people, now careless of everything except their day's food and their day's amusement, with magnificent spectacles and liberal



COIN OF CAIUS CÆSAR (CALIGULA).

largesses. He did not patronize informers, refused to prosecute those suspected of treason, and even partially returned to the institutions of Augustus. His conduct towards the provincials was as generous as towards his own citizens. He punished those procurators who had been guilty of extortion, and amongst them the tyrannical Pontius Pilate, under whose sway Judæa had for years been suffering from the rapacity of publicans, was exiled to Gaul, and there, in remorse and despair, died by his own hand.

Whether this moderate and wise conduct was merely a veil to conceal a tyrannical and cruel heart, until being firmly established on his throne, he had an opportunity for giving free scope to it, or whether his character underwent a sudden and total change, it is impossible to say. The power of sensuality and profligacy in

hardening the heart and destroying the intellect, perverting the whole moral nature, and turning a man into a brute, is a well-known and melancholy fact. Caligula may, in this respect, be an instance of the moral insanity with which Divine vengeance visits sin even in this life.

However this may be, scarcely eight months had passed away before all show of virtue disappeared, and was replaced by a savage delight in cruelty and licentiousness, consistent with nothing less than insanity. Self-indulgence had destroyed the power of self-control, and his natural depravity shone forth in its true loathsome colours. He presented the horrible picture of a madman responsible for his madness, because profligacy had produced it. He was the sport and victim of wild passions, which he himself had endowed with power beyond his control.

His moral ruin is easily traceable. Naturally of strong passions, he was born in an age when universal contamination turned the ardent temperament of youth in a vicious direction; his rank gave him every opportunity for feeding the flame by self-indulgence; and he knew no restraint but to stand well in the public opinion, and this end was attained, as it had been by Tiberius, by dissimulation. When the check of public opinion was removed, by the moral sense becoming utterly deadened, nothing remained to stop the headlong descent to utter depravity.

"Had he been a Christian," says the greatest of modern historians, Niebuhr, "religion would have afforded some means of making an impression upon him; but there was nothing at Rome that could check his madness." The character of all his vices may be summed up in one word—extravagance. It is visible in all his acts, whether of cruelty, lust, or the management of the affairs of the empire. Not only was there no limit to the number of his victims, and to the ingenuity of the tortures which he inflicted, but he adopted the horrible plan of compelling them to be their own executioners. At his command, Macro, his accomplice, Antonia his

grandmother, and many of his best and most devoted friends, committed suicide. Again, in his sensuality, he delighted in unheard-of forms of vice, and committed incest with his own sister.

His follies and absurdities were as numerous as his crimes. As an example of his absurd profuseness, he squandered vast sums on the construction of a useless floating bridge of ships between Baiæ and Puteoli (Pozzuoli). In a campaign in Gaul and Germany,\* he actually took some of his own troops prisoners. In an expedition to Britain the following year, he made his army pick up the shells on the sea-shore, which he pompously designated as the spoils of the ocean, and returned to Rome in triumph. On another occasion he appointed his horse consul, and built him an ivory stable and a silver manger, and fed him with gilded oats; and lastly, he claimed divine honours, and ordained, as his priests, the noblest and wealthiest Romans, assumed the names of different deities, and had the heads of their statues broken off and replaced by his own; he deified, also, his sister, who was the object of his incestuous passion.

Extravagance like this, indulged in every form, could not be easily or cheaply maintained. The eighteen millions which Tiberius had heaped up were soon squandered, and his exhausted treasury was then replenished by gambling, confiscation, plunder, extortion, and the most oppressive taxation of every commodity.

In the last year of his reign, the Jews of Alexandria sent Philo, who, for the elegance of his style, was surnamed the Jewish Plato, as ambassador to Caligula. He has left an amusing account of his embassy, and of his interview with the emperor. The object of his embassy was to complain of the sufferings of his people, and to remonstrate against placing the statues of Caligula in their temples. Philo and his colleagues were unsuccessful in their mission, but he consoled his countrymen with this noble sentiment,—“Fear not, Caius is against us, therefore God is on our side.”

\* A.D. 39, A.U.C. 792.

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A few years rendered such tyranny insupportable. A conspiracy was formed by Lentulus and Lepidus, but it was discovered, and the authors of it executed. Another soon followed on the part of the prætorian guards, who, like the janissaries of the Ottoman empire, were always either the instruments or the punishers of tyranny. At the head of the plot was Cassius Chærea. A rehearsal of theatrical performances which were in preparation had taken place, at which the emperor was present. He was proceeding along a corridor which led to the bath, when Chærea and his associates rushed upon him, and all plunged their daggers in his body. Thus he suffered a merited death, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the fourth of his reign; and the world was freed from a monster whose vices were unparalleled.\* His wife and daughter perished with him, and thus the innocent were involved in the punishment of the guilty.

#### CLAUDIUS CÆSAR.

The death of this furious-tempered tyrant was succeeded by temporary anarchy. Some patriots, amongst whom were the consul, Saturninus, entertained faint hopes of restoring the ancient republican liberty, or, at least, they talked about it. But it was evidently too late. Rome was now under a military despotism. The disposition of the imperial power was in the hands of the prætorians. Their existence depended upon that of monarchy, and, therefore, they determined that there should be a successor. The question was who it should be. Tib. Claudius Nero, the uncle of the murdered emperor, had hid himself during the confusion, fearing that he should share his nephew's fate. He was fifty years of age, imbecile in body and mind; nevertheless, the soldiers, on discovering his hiding-place, proclaimed him emperor, and the following day the senate, glad to escape civil war, ratified the selection. On his accession he distributed a donative to the prætorian guards, and

\* A.D. 41, A.U.C. 794.



thus began a custom which was afterwards adopted by every succeeding emperor. Like Caligula, he began his reign well ; he proclaimed a general amnesty, and administered justice temperately but firmly ; but scarcely more confidence can be reposed in a sovereign of weak intellect, than in one of bad principle.

Not that Claudius was an idiot, for his literary abilities were by no means contemptible ; and we know that his historical works were trustworthy, although they are no longer extant ; but he was stupid, totally deficient in the judgment and discernment which are essential to a ruler. His natural deficiencies were probably increased by the inactive retirement to which he had been condemned in early life. His youth, and the prime of his manhood, were passed amongst women and freedmen, so that he became totally unfitted for the struggles and



COIN OF CLAUDIUS.

emergencies of public life, to which he was suddenly called ; and his natural timidity became confirmed cowardice, both physical and moral. He permitted his favourites to inflict suffering on his people, but did not cause misery in order to gratify himself ; he was a weak rather than a wicked man. But from the imbecility, as well as the depravity, of their rulers, nations suffer ; for, even if not wicked themselves, they are the willing tools of profligate and unprincipled favourites. That which casts the only lustre on the reign of Claudius, is

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the enterprising nature of the public works which were undertaken in his reign. The magnificent Claudian aqueduct was built, a new port was excavated at Ostia, and the waters of the lake Fucinus were drained into the river Liris, and thus increased the body of water in the Tiber.

Such were the works calculated to contribute to the welfare of his people at home. Important events also took place during this reign abroad. Mauritania was added to the list of Roman provinces, by the legatus Cn. Hosidius.\* In Syria Palestine, he banished Herod Antipas, who had beheaded John the Baptist, and placed on the throne of Judæa Herod Agrippa, who had been in captivity during the reign of Tiberius, and was set at liberty by Caligula. He punished the insurrections of the Rhodians with the loss of their independence, although he afterwards restored it to them at the intercession of Agrippina. The Parthian war commenced, which continued during the reign of his successor.† Many successful battles were fought in Germany, and Colonia Agrippina (Cologne) founded. And lastly, a successful campaign was carried on in Britain,‡ in part of which Claudius was himself present, and was brought to a successful issue by Vespasian and Titus, afterwards to be his successors on the imperial throne.

The Romans were invited to invade Britain, which had remained undisturbed for nearly a century, by a British exile, named Bericulus. In obedience to this summons, Plautius Silvanus landed at the head of an army, and gained several victories over the Britons, under their chief, Cymbeline. Claudius soon followed, but, after a few days, returned to Rome in triumph. Plautius reduced the south-eastern parts of Britain to the form of a Roman province; but the Romans, in the time of his successor, Ostorius, met with a formidable opponent in the brave Caractacus (Caradoc), chief of the Silures, the inhabitants of South Wales. At last, however, the Britons were routed, and the wife and

\* A.D. 42, A.U.C. 795.

† A.D. 50, A.U.C. 803.

‡ A.D. 43, A.U.C. 796.

daughter of Caractacus taken prisoners. Soon after Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, to whom he had fled for protection, treacherously gave him up to the Romans. At Rome, the brave barbarian, like Abd-el-Kadher in modern times, was an object of universal and eager curiosity. "How," he exclaimed, when he beheld the splendour of Rome, "could the possessors of this grandeur envy me my poor hut in Britain?" He adorned the triumph of the conqueror, but his magnanimity in misfortune procured him his pardon and his life.

Claudius had been married three times, and, at the period of his accession, his third wife, the proverbially profligate Messalina, was still living, and exercised a baneful influence over his counsels, until she dared at last to marry publicly a young Roman knight, which provoked him to put her to death.\* Two freedmen, also, Pallas and Narcissus, were men stained with all the vices of the times, and, by their sanguinary counsels they induced the emperor to punish with confiscation and death the best families of Rome.

The emperor's son-in-law and nieces, thirty-five senators, and three hundred knights, fell a sacrifice to these miscreants. They sold all the patronage, and enriched themselves by every species of corruption. Tyranny naturally produced resistance, and conspiracies were formed against the emperor's life. In one of these Cæcina Pætus was involved. On its discovery, he escaped to Dalmatia, but was overtaken, and conveyed back to Rome. His faithful and affectionate wife, Arria—a bright gem in a degenerate age, a proof that times of horror and depravity develop many a noble trait of heroism—followed the vessel in which he was imprisoned, in the open boat of a fisherman. When the orders came that Pætus was to be his own executioner, Arria, seeing that he hesitated, stabbed herself with a dagger, and offering it to him, said, "My Pætus, it is not painful."

These affecting words have been expanded by the

\* B.C. 48, A.U.C. 801.

Roman poet, Martial, in an epigram, of which the following is a translation :—

When Arria to her Pæstus gave the steel,  
Which from her bleeding side did newly part ;  
From my own stroke, she said, no pain I feel,  
But ah ! thy wound will stab me to the heart.

After the death of Messalina, Claudius was prevailed upon to marry Agrippina, one of those wicked women who, under the empire, so frequently brought disgrace upon the name of the Roman matrons. She was the widow of Crispus Passienus, whom she had poisoned, the daughter of Germanicus, and consequently the niece of the emperor. The nature of the connection was odious to the people ; but, nevertheless, the marriage took place, and Claudius was soon under her pernicious influence, even more than he had been under that of Messalina. Her first step was to induce the emperor to disinherit his son, Britannicus, and to adopt, as his successor, her own son, Nero.

In order to gain public confidence, she procured the recall of L. Annæus Seneca, and put her son under his tuition. This eminent Stoic philosopher had been unjustly exiled, by the intrigues of Messalina. Whether his moral conduct was as strict as the lessons in which he taught, it is difficult to say ; but at any rate, the pure principles which he publicly enforced, commanded admiration and respect, even in that corrupt age. She also made Burrus his military instructor, for whom she had procured the post of prefect of the prætorian cohort. He was attached to her interest, but he was an able and, upon the whole, an honest man. Under the care of these instructors, the future heir to the throne developed the brilliant talents which he undoubtedly possessed, although his naturally vicious propensities were not counteracted. At length the unbounded encroachments of Agrippina alarmed the emperor, and he meditated her death. Agrippina, therefore, in order to save herself, determined to poison Claudius, as she had her former husband. Poisoning had now become a trade,

as it became in France in the time of Catherine de Medicis. She therefore employed Locusta, a professed poisoner, to murder him with a dish of mushrooms. The dose produced insensibility, but not death; and a physician, one of her tools, put a poisoned feather down his throat under the pretence of making him vomit, and he expired, after a reign of seventeen years.\*

## CHAPTER XXVII.

ACCESSION OF NERO—PROMISE OF THE FIRST YEARS OF HIS REIGN—INFLUENCE OF HIS MISTRESS, POPPÆA SABINA—ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF AGRIPPINA—HER ASSASSINATION—NERO'S FOLLY, DEBAUCHERY, AND CRUELTY—HE IS A CANDIDATE AT THE GREEK GAMES—HIS EFFRONTERY—ACCUSED OF BURNING ROME—PERSECUTES THE CHRISTIANS—KILLS POPPÆA—INSURRECTION OF THE BRITONS UNDER BOADICEA—SUBJUGATION OF THE ISLAND—THE PARTHIAN WAR—INSURRECTION OF VINDEA AND PROCLAMATION OF GALBA—NERO'S SUICIDE—FAULTS OF GALBA—CAUSES OF HIS FALL—HE ADOPTS PISO LUCINIANUS—CONSPIRACY FORMED AGAINST HIM—OTHO EXECUTES TIGELLINUS—VITELLIUS PROCLAIMED EMPEROR—MARCH OF HIS ARMY FOR ROME—BATTLE OF BRIXELLUM—SUICIDE OF OTHO—GLUTTONY OF VITELLIUS—CONQUESTS OF VESPASIAN—HE IS PROCLAIMED EMPEROR AT ALEXANDRIA—CREMONA TAKEN AND BURNT—THE CAPITOL BURNT—VITELLIUS SLAIN.

### NERO.

THOUGH Nero was nominated as the successor of Claudius, the cautious Agrippina concealed the emperor's death until, by the instrumentality of Burrus, she had secured the support of the guards and the army in favour of her son. He was then proclaimed emperor, and his accession ratified by the pliant flattery of the senate and the people.

Nero was born in the year of Claudius's accession, and was therefore now seventeen years of age. His youth, his talents, and his conduct, during the first five years of his reign, gave an omen and promise of happiness and prosperity. It seemed as though the wise instructions of his tutors had not been thrown away, but

\* A.D. 54, A.U.C. 807.

that they had moulded even the son of Agrippina to virtue.

Soon, however, was the empire doomed to experience severe disappointment. Obsequious flattery sapped the foundations which education had laid; the ambition of his mother provoked the natural ferocity of his temper; and sensuality and licentiousness quickly did the rest. Nero, early in life, although married to the virtuous Octavia, the daughter of the late emperor, sought for pleasure in the society of dissolute women. His mother



COIN OF NERO.

felt that her influence over him was wavering, and threatened to depose him, and place Britannicus on the throne. Hence his first deed of blood, the prelude to a life of crime. In order to prevent Agrippina's designs, he caused the innocent boy to be poisoned. But the hatred thus awakened against his mother was not pacified, and it was increased by the artful influence of a new mistress.

Poppæa Sabina was a beautiful but profligate woman, who had forsaken her husband, Otho, to live in adultery with Nero. Agrippina used all the arts of intrigue to detach her son's affections from her, but in vain; and Poppæa sought her revenge by inducing Nero to commit matricide. He enticed her on board a boat, so built that, when at sea, it should fall in pieces. But she swam safe to shore; and as this plan failed, he had her murdered at her villa by assassins. So important



was it for the empire, to be freed from the dominion of such a wretch, that even Burrus and Seneca approved of the matricide. It is said that an astrologer once foretold to her that Nero would be emperor, but that she should be his victim. "If he is but emperor," was the answer of this ambitious woman, "let him slay me" (*Occidet dum imperat*).

Whether remorse produced utter recklessness, or so horrible a crime made all other crimes seem as nothing, Nero now plunged into an unrestrained course of folly, debauchery, and cruelty. In acting, singing, playing, and chariot-driving, he sought to gratify his silly vanity and love of display, so unworthy of his high position; and if any were observed to refuse or neglect to applaud his feeble performances, their lives were in danger. On one occasion, when a conflagration consumed a great part of Rome, he sang the "capture of Troy" to the accompaniment of his lyre on the top of the tower of *Mæcenas*.\* The same petty and frivolous ambition induced him to visit Greece, and to enter as a candidate for the prize in the four great games.† Greece vied with Rome in fawning adulation, and conferred on him innumerable prizes and crowns. A splendid triumph signalized his return to Rome.

Happy had it been for his country if his extravagances had been confined to such follies. It is impossible to pollute these pages with the mention of his hideous profligacy; suffice it to say, that, not content with the indulgence of his depraved passions in secret, like Tiberius in his rock-bound and distant island, he paraded his vices with unblushing effrontery in the eyes of Rome, in the presence of a public who, sad to say, considered them a subject for ridicule rather than for burning indignation; so universal was the empire of sin and Satan.

Such were Nero's follies and debaucheries; but they were exceeded, if possible, by his cruelties. His wife, Octavia, was soon banished, and then murdered, to give

\* A.D. 64. A.U.C. 817.

† A.D. 66, A.U.C. 819.

place to the adulteress Poppæa. His faithful tutor and counsellor, Burrus, was poisoned, and Tigellinus, a man whose character resembled that of his master, promoted to his post. By many historians the burning of Rome is attributed to the emperor himself: there may be no foundation for this accusation; but it is certain that Nero falsely accused an innocent body of men, the Christians, of the deed, and made it a pretext for a savage persecution; some were clothed in skins and baited by fierce dogs, others were enveloped in garments smeared with pitch and tar, and thus the flames by which they were destroyed, like torches, lighted up the darkness; others suffered that most torturing of all deaths, which their blessed Master endured for our sakes, whilst the bloodthirsty emperor feasted his eyes on their dying agonies. In this persecution St. Peter and St. Paul are said to have perished. Even the splendour with which he adorned the new-built city, and the golden palace, with its parks and gardens, were constructed at the price of his people's sufferings; and, like his daily banquets, the cost was provided by grinding extortion and rapacious tyranny.

Amongst his victims were the adulteress Poppæa, whom, when pregnant, he kicked in a frenzy of rage; the poet Lucan, and the philosopher Seneca; who, being suspected of participation in a conspiracy against the emperor's life, were bled to death by his orders.\*

With respect to foreign affairs, the reign of Nero was signalized by an unsuccessful attempt, on the part of the Britons, to throw off the Roman yoke.† The island of Mona (Anglesea) was the head-quarters of the Druids, and the Roman governor, Suetonius Paulinus, was endeavouring to expel them from their ancient dwellings. During his absence the people, under the command of Boadicea, queen of the Iceni (East Anglia), rose in arms and gained a temporary advantage over their oppressors. In a general engagement, however, the Romans gained a decisive victory; more than

\* A.D. 65, A.U.C. 818.

† A.D. 61, A.U.C. 814.

seventy thousand of the Britons were slain on the field of battle, and the heroic Boadicea destroyed herself by poison. Britain was now entirely subdued.

Nero had inherited from his predecessors the Parthian war. The Parthians had become masters of Armenia; but Domitius Corbulo, who was Nero's general, had succeeded in deposing Tiridates, the Parthian usurper, and in placing Tigranes on the throne of Armenia in his stead. The Parthians, however, did not submit with patience; they again invaded Armenia, and Tiridates recovered the throne, on condition of receiving it as a gift at the hands of Nero, and holding it as a fief from the emperor of Rome.\*

Lastly, the ill-fated Jews had suffered so severely from a succession of Roman governors, that a general insurrection took place. The insurgents conquered the proconsul Cestius Gallus, and put his troops to flight: and Vespasian, whom the voice of divine prophecy had destined for their conqueror, succeeded to the command.†

The year following, Julius Vindex determined to rid mankind of this pernicious monster. He headed a revolt of the troops in Gaul, and proclaimed Servius Sulpicius Galba emperor. He had already administered, with great credit, the province of Africa in times of singular difficulty, and was now governor of Hispania Tarraconensis. On the death of Caligula he had been urged by his friends to assume the imperial purple, but had modestly declined. He was a strict disciplinarian, but his reputation as a general commanded the esteem of the soldiers, and his wisdom as a provincial governor made him universally respected.

When Nero heard that Vindex was at the head of the insurgents, he entertained no fear of the result; but when he heard that Galba was proclaimed, he was struck with terror at the imminent peril he was in. Ebullitions of mingled folly and cruelty marked the despair with which he made preparations to meet the

\* A.D. 66, A.U.C. 819.

† A.D. 67, A.U.C. 820.

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danger ; meanwhile the spirit of revolt spread throughout the empire. The prætorian guards joined Galba. All the creatures and flatterers of the emperor forsook him ; his bosom-friend, Tigellinus, added cowardice and treachery to his other enormities. Nero found a temporary refuge in the house of a freedman named Phaon, and, hunted to death by his pursuers, he ended his miserable career by suicide in the thirty-first year of his age and the fourteenth of his reign.\*

Nero was the last of the famous Claudian family—a house in which wickedness seemed hereditary. From Appius Claudius to Claudius Nero, all the members of it whose names appear in the pages of history evince a strong will, undaunted ambition, a tyrannical temper, and an unscrupulous conscience.

#### GALBA.

Galba on his accession was seventy-three years of age, and he appears to have accepted the government unwillingly. His faults seem to have been those of old age—avarice, moroseness, arbitrary severity, and submission to the influence of favourites. Although it was necessary to repair the waste of his predecessors by strict economy, the injudicious manner in which he carried into effect his retrenchments rendered him unpopular.

It was necessary to put down disaffection with a strong hand, but when discontent appeared amongst the troops in Africa and Germany, he cruelly caused all the generals to be put to death. And lastly, whatever measures he put in force, whether politic or otherwise, he acted solely through the instrumentality of his favourites, T. Vinius, his second in command in Spain, Icelus, a low and ambitious freedman, and C. Laco, the præfect of the prætorians. These, as favourites always do, abused his confidence and looked only to their own aggrandizement.

These evil counsellors and his avarice caused his fall.

\* A.D. 68, A.U.C. 821.

Rumours of expected disaffection in the army made him think that he would not be safe in his old age without the support of a young colleague. The appointment of



COIN OF GALBA.

a colleague implied that of an heir to the throne. His favourites were, therefore, anxious to have a voice in the nomination, and Salvius Otho, who had come with him to Rome from Spain at his accession, entertained hopes that he himself would be selected.

Galba, however, in opposition to the wishes of them all, adopted Piso Lucinianus, a young noble whose only recommendation was his worth and merits. He thus provoked the enmity of Otho and his favourites, and by not giving to the prætorians the usual largess, he alienated them from himself. He had never been firmly seated on the throne, and, therefore, Otho and the prætorians without any difficulty organized a conspiracy. The poor old emperor was struck with confusion and terror: he hesitated what to do. A few horse soldiers then rushed upon him, and he meekly bowed his head to the swords of his enemies. Thus he died, and a faithful slave buried his headless corpse. His short reign lasted only seven months.\*

#### OTHO.

The blood of Galba was not dry when the contemptible Otho was hailed as emperor by the fawning senate

\* A.D. 69, A.U.C. 822.

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and fickle people, and was welcomed in the senate-house with enthusiastic congratulations and grovelling flatteries. His first act, however, was one of strict and welcome justice—the execution of the vile Tigellinus, and the recall of his exiled victims.

He had no time to show what his character would be as emperor, for a few days before the death of Galba the army in Germany had at Cologne proclaimed their general, Vitellius, emperor. All attempts at negotiation with Vitellius failed, and Otho then began to make vigorous preparations for war.

The indolent Vitellius sent forward an army of seventy thousand men into Cisalpine Gaul, under the command of his lieutenants, F. Valens and A. Cæcina, intending to bring up the reserve himself. Plunder and havoc marked the path of the army all the way to



COIN OF OTHO.

Lombardy. Otho advanced with marvellous speed to meet the enemy, together with Suetonius and other generals. Afterwards Titianus, the elder brother of Otho, who had been left to take care of Rome, was sent for to take the command at Placenza and Cremona. Cæcina suffered defeats, but Valens effecting a junction with Cæcina, the combined armies met that of Otho near Bedriacum, a small village not far from Cremona. Otho's best policy would have been to avoid a decisive engagement, and to wait for reinforcements and supplies. But he determined on a general engagement, although he listened to the advice of his friends not to be personally present. He retired to Bruxellum (Bres-



celli), and a bloody battle was fought, in which he was totally defeated, and forty thousand men were slain.

When he heard the result, his effeminate disposition, which had only roused itself to exertion for a momentary effort, was unable to cope with adversity, and he put an end to his life, after a reign of three months, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. All authors speak with contempt of his effeminacy. Suetonius tells us that he wore false hair, and Juvenal describes him as plastering his face with bread, in order to improve his complexion, and accuses him of being guilty of the most disgraceful vices.

#### VITELLIUS.

Vitellius had all that indolence and inactivity which characterize those whose only pleasure is gluttony. Tacitus compares him to a sluggish animal lying in the shade, gorged with food, in a state of torpor and stu-



COIN OF VITELLIUS.

pidity, utterly unconscious of the past, the present, and the future. By noonday he was generally stupified with eating and drinking. His qualities as a companion at the table of vicious emperors probably recommended him to Galba for a position of command, for which the absence of all military talents singularly disqualified him. He retained his influence over his soldiers, not by commanding them, but by indulging them in their licentiousness, and the march of his

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immense army of sixty thousand men, with which he entered Rome to take possession of the sovereignty, was one of unbridled licence and wantonness. The number of suttlers and camp-followers exceeded that of his army, and he was welcomed by a multitude composed of senators and knights, buffoons, players, and all the offscourings of the people.

When seated on the throne, his life was passed as before. When he had eaten to repletion an emetic was used, to enable him to gorge himself a second time. Sea and land were ransacked to supply, at any cost, unheard-of dainties, for his table. Dishes made of the spawn of lampreys, the tongues of carps and peacocks, and the brains of pheasants, swallowed up the resources of the empire, as rapidly as the extravagances of his predecessors. The old story was again repeated of luxury, profusion, want, extortion, and cruelty.

Whilst these disgusting scenes were enacting by the emperor in the society of companions as low as were his own tastes, and as dissolute as himself, Vespasian had conquered all Judæa, with the exception of Jerusalem. On the accession of Galba he had sent his son Titus to receive instructions, but hearing of the emperor's death, he returned. Soon he found that the course pursued by Vitellius disgusted everybody, and that the eyes of the army turned towards him. Without any interference on his own part, he was proclaimed at Alexandria, and the army there took the oath of allegiance.\* He now, with some show of reluctance, consented, and leaving Titus to besiege Jerusalem, he prepared to raise forces to support his pretensions. Antonius Primus, who was in command of the army on the Danube, espoused his cause, and marched into Lombardy, where he met with a good reception. Vitellius's general, Cæcina, met him near Verona, but instead of fighting, he treacherously took the oath to Vespasian. His soldiers, however, threw him into prison, and fought a battle with Primus, who defeated them, and took and burnt the town of

\* A.D. 69, A.U.C. 822.

Cremona. Primus then met with little opposition on his progress to Rome, and a proposal was made to Vitellius to abdicate. He at first consented, but afterwards refused to carry his intention into effect. Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, was præfect of the city, and he attempted to enforce the emperor's abdication; but the guards of Vitellius attacked him in the Capitol, of which he had taken possession, burnt it to the ground, and Sabinus was slain in the tumult.

The following day the army of Primus entered the city, the tyrant was deserted by all, and concealed himself in the recesses of the palace. The soldiers dragged him from his hiding place, and, with brutal insults and malicious mockeries, slew him at the Gemonian Steps, and threw his body into the Tiber. He had reigned but eight months, and was in the fifty-seventh year of his age.\*

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

EFFORTS OF MUCIANUS AND DOMITIAN TO ESTABLISH VESPASIAN—STATE OF ROME—VESPASIAN PROCLAIMED AT ROME—DISTURBANCES ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER—SIEGE OF JERUSALEM—CIVIL WAR BETWEEN JOHN AND SIMON—HORRORS OF THE FAMINE—DISPERSION OF THE JEWS—CONQUESTS AND ADMINISTRATION OF AGRICOLA IN BRITAIN—GOOD QUALITIES OF VESPASIAN—HIS DEATH—CONDUCT OF TITUS ON HIS ACCESSION—THE PEACEFULNESS OF HIS REIGN—HIS POPULARITY—ERUPTION OF VESUVIUS—DEATH OF PLINY—CONFLAGRATION AT ROME—PESTILENCE—CHARITY OF TITUS—HIS DEATH—LITERARY TALENTS OF DOMITIAN—HIS CRUELTY—AGRICOLA RECALLED—INSURRECTION OF THE CHATTI, DACIANS, ETC.—TRIUMPH OF DOMITIAN—DESCRIPTION OF HIS TIMES BY TACITUS—PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS—CONSPIRACY AGAINST DOMITIAN—HIS DEATH—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

### VESPASIAN.

WHEN the murder of Vitellius took place, Vespasian was at Alexandria, and Mucianus and Domitian used all their endeavours to establish his power at Rome. Mucianus was a man of noble family, and governor of

\* A.D. 69, A.U.C. 822.

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Syria during the campaigns of Vespasian in Judæa: he had exerted his influence to induce Vespasian to accept the imperial power. Domitian was Vespasian's younger son, now about twenty years old: he had with difficulty escaped from the conflagration of the Capitol, and in the state of anarchy which ushered in the new reign was gratifying his cruel temper by acts of barbarous revenge.

Rome was in a fearful state. The empire was virtually without a master, and no one had power to check the lawless rapacity of the mob, or the outrageous violence of the army and the prætorians. The authority of Mucianus at length prevailed, and tranquillity was to a certain extent restored. Vespasian was proclaimed emperor, with the consent of the senate and people.\*



COIN OF VESPASIAN.

Rome now began to feel how difficult it was to maintain intact the frontier of her extensive empire. Henceforth it will be seen that frequent insurrections of the provincials themselves, and invasions from the hardy barbarian tribes without, commenced those aggressive movements which, although stopped for a time, ultimately accomplished the dismemberment and overthrow of the Roman power.

Before Vespasian could reach Rome, the Batavi (Hollanders) were in rebellion. Their leader, Claudius Civilis, at first, pretended loyalty to the new emperor,

\* A.D. 70, A.U.C. 823.

but he was not believed, and Petilius Cerealis was sent without delay to crush the insurrection. Civilis gave him battle, suffered more than one signal defeat, and the Batavi purchased peace by submission. Simultaneously the Sarmatians crossed the Danube, and these barbarian hordes carried desolation into the Roman territory, but Rubrius Gallus succeeded in driving them back, and clearing the country.

It was in this year that the Divine vengeance fell upon Jerusalem, and the doomed city endured all the horrors which our blessed Lord had with tears foretold. The blood of martyrs cried from the ground, especially the blood of the Holy One and the Just. The curse which they had imprecated upon themselves, in those awful words, "His blood be upon us and our children," now fell upon them. "The lord of the vineyard sent forth his armies to destroy these murderers, and burn up their city." Their destruction was hastened by intestine strife, and the horrors of civil war.

John, an able but unprincipled man, who had defended Gischala, a small fortified town in Galilee, against Titus, had, when that place surrendered, fled to Jerusalem. He there put himself at the head of banditti, who called themselves Zealots, and ravaged with their robberies and massacres the city and the surrounding country. At the head of a rival band of robbers was Simon, the son of Gioras, who laid waste the whole country of Idumea, committing acts of the most brutal atrocity. The inhabitants of Jerusalem, trampled to the dust by John and his followers, determined in an evil hour to admit the opposite faction of Simon within their walls, in order to overawe John. The latter now took possession of the Temple, whilst Simon's forces, amounting to forty thousand, thronged the city.

Whilst these fierce partisans were in furious conflict with one another, the ill-fated city was plundered by both, and the holy courts of the Temple were polluted with blood. At this crisis the common enemy cast a bank against it, and with their catapults and balistæ

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assailed the walls of Jerusalem. For a short time the common danger reconciled the adverse factions, but their anger soon broke out again with the same fury as before.

Meanwhile Titus encamped opposite the tower, called Hippicus, in the beautiful gardens which adorned the suburbs of the city. After the siege had continued fifteen days, Titus made a breach with a battering ram in the first wall, and encamped at the foot of Calvary. In five days the second wall was breached, and Titus was in Jerusalem, but in the narrow streets the Romans could not maintain their ground, and were obliged to retreat with great loss. It was the feast of the pass-over when the siege began, and the city was crowded, so that famine began to do its work rapidly. The banditti plundered every family of their food; the streets were full of the dead and the dying.

The most terrible of all prophecies was literally fulfilled. A woman of rank slew her infant at the breast, to appease the pangs of hunger. How must the Jews have remembered the words of Jeremiah, "The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children, they were their meat in the destruction of the daughter of my people" (Lam. iv.) ; and the still older prediction, "The eye of the tender and delicate woman shall be evil toward her son and toward her daughter, and toward her young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear, for she shall eat them for want of all things, secretly in the siege." (Deut. xxviii.)

Titus now pressed the siege with vigour, and gained the citadel Antonia. He wished to save the Temple because of its magnificence; but a soldier threw a fire-brand into one of the buildings, and the whole was consumed. The Divine fiat had gone forth that there should not remain one stone upon another which should not be thrown down. Still, however, Simon and John were in possession of Zion, the upper city, but this at length fell, and the Romans were masters of Jerusalem. The walls were razed to the ground, the plough passed



over their foundations. More than one million of Jews perished in the siege, and nearly one hundred thousand were taken prisoners. Most of the survivors were dispersed throughout the empire, and each had to pay an annual poll-tax of two drachmæ. The dispersion, thus commenced, was finally completed in the reign of Hadrian. All this waste of human life added, in the eyes of Rome, brilliance to the victory of Titus; and laden with rich spoils he and his father entered Rome in triumph. A triumphal arch was erected in his honour, the bassi relievi on which represent the golden candlestick, the silver trumpets, and other Jewish antiquities.

The following year,\* Cerealis was made governor of Britain, and his lieutenant-general was the celebrated Agricola, who afterwards succeeded him in the administration of the province,† and completed the conquest of Great Britain, as far north as the Friths of Forth and Clyde. But the wise prudence and conscientious integrity with which he governed his province, the discipline which he maintained in his army, the civilization which he introduced among a barbarous people, the care which he took in the education of the youth, his simplicity and absence of all ostentation, and the caution with which, during the reign of Domitian, he endeavoured to ward off the envy which invariably attended success, shed a brighter lustre on the name of the father-in-law of Tacitus than his most brilliant victories.

There can be no doubt that the reign of Vespasian was a blessing to Rome. The accession to power did not spoil him. He has been accused of avarice and injudicious parsimony; but his tastes were simple, he had no mean personal vanity. He was not ashamed of his humble origin, that his grandfather had been a private soldier, and his father an exciseman. He laughed at the folly of the genealogists who, as Suetonius tells us, with the usual flattery of their class, traced his

\* A.D. 71, A.U.C. 824.

† A.D. 77, A.U.C. 830.

descent from Flavius, one of the friends of Hercules. The wasteful extravagance of the wealthy nobles called for a strict example on the part of the emperor, while the lavish expenditure of his profligate predecessors demanded careful economy, and the raising of revenues by every justifiable expedient. His great public works—the New Temple in the Capitol, and the vast Colosseum—are proofs that he did not disdain to add to the splendour of the city. He was also a munificent encourager of literature. He founded professorships of rhetoric, with fixed salaries, and Quinctilian, Pliny, and Josephus profited by his patronage.

This assertion may seem inconsistent with his expulsion of the Stoic and Cynic philosophers from Rome,\* but in this act political expediency prevailed over his sense of the utility of learning. Their stern uncompromising love of liberty probably seemed to him to threaten the stability of his throne. In his seventieth year he was attacked, at his Sabine villa, with dysentery, and when he found his end approaching, he exclaimed—"An emperor should die standing!" He then rose from his couch, and expired in the arms of his attendants, after a reign of nearly ten years.†

#### TITUS.

The claim of Titus to the throne was founded on the will of Vespasian, and was slightly opposed by his brother Domitian. During the latter years of his father's life he had been intrusted with a share of the administration, and his conduct is said to have been stained with some acts of tyranny and cruelty. This is not improbable, considering the extremities to which he carried his victories over the Jews. But, nevertheless, after his accession, he displayed a complete mastery over his passions, and has been always celebrated for his benevolence and clemency. Peace throughout the empire shed its blessings on his short reign of two

\* A.D. 74, A.U.C. 827.

† A.D. 79, A.U.C. 832.

years, and he gained the universal affection of his people, who styled him—(Amor et deliciæ humani generis)  
“The love and delight of mankind.”



COIN OF TITUS.

In the reign of Titus that terrible eruption of Mount Vesuvius took place, which spread desolation over an extent of many miles, and buried under ashes and lava the towns of Herculaneum and Pompeii.\* The elder Pliny fell a victim to his ardent thirst for knowledge on this occasion, for, in his anxiety to observe the phenomenon, he was overwhelmed by the burning lava. In the following year, an accidental conflagration destroyed a



POMPEIAN COIN.

great part of Rome, including the newly-built temple in the Capitol. This public calamity was succeeded by a plague, which devastated Italy, and swept off thousands of

\* A.D. 79, A.U.C. 832.

the inhabitants. Titus, in all these cases, found full scope for his benevolence and generosity, and devoted all his available resources to the relief of the sufferers and the restoration of the city. He died of fever, although some suspect that his brother Domitian caused his death, at his father's Sabine villa, in the forty-first year of his age.\* The Romans mourned for him as for a father, and the transient happiness which the empire had enjoyed under his rule, shed a lustre on his memory.

#### DOMITIAN.

The accession of Domitian was anticipated with dread, even in the reign of Titus, for his licentiousness and cruelty were already notorious. It was, however, acquiesced in, owing to love and respect for his deceased brother. At the commencement of his reign this monster of lust and cruelty veiled his vices, and presented a semblance of justice and moderation. His natural talents were of no mean order. He had a cultivated taste for literature, and it derived benefit from his patronage. A



COIN OF DOMITIAN.

paraphrase of the "Phænomena" of Aratus is, on good grounds, ascribed to him, and he instituted a contest in which successful poets were crowned; and he paid salaries to the teachers of rhetoric. Hence it was, that, contrary to what might have been expected, Tacitus, Pliny the younger, Juvenal, Martial, Quintilian, and

\* A.D. 81, A.U.C. 834.

Staius, cast a lustre on the reign of this cowardly and inhuman tyrant.

He did not squander the resources of the empire in selfish extravagance, and he restrained by strict supervision the corrupt extortions of the provincial governors; but he soon found it easier to gain the good will of the soldiers by profuse largesses, and the people by magnificent shows and games, than by keeping an habitual restraint over his evil passions. The pretended abhorrence of cruelty which led him to forbid that victims should be sacrificed, was then exchanged for a retirement employed in sticking flies upon pins; his personal administration of justice was prostituted to the work of confiscation and condemnation, and the zeal with which he had pursued literature and poetry, was superseded by the expulsion from Rome of all who studied and taught philosophy. The senate, as usual, were his ready flatterers, and the willing instruments of his tyranny. Divine honours were decreed to him at his own request, and the noblest blood of Rome flowed upon the scaffold under their authority.

The frontiers of the empire were by no means tranquil during the reign of Domitian. Britain, indeed, was safe under the administration of Agricola, who conquered the Caledonians in the Grampians, and circumnavigated the whole of Scotland.\* But the timid jealousy of the emperor feared success, and Agricola was recalled to pass the rest of his days in inactive seclusion. The decaying Parthian empire was now buried in Oriental sloth, and no longer gave the Romans any apprehensions. But on the German frontier the warlike Chatti, who inhabited the country through which the Maine flows, rendered the personal presence of Domitian necessary, and although they were ultimately defeated, gave the Romans some trouble.†

Against the Dacians on the Danube, as well as the Suevi and Marcomanni, the emperor did not meet with the same success.‡ These tribes obtained an advan-

\* A.D. 84, A.U.C. 837. † A.D. 86, A.U.C. 839. ‡ A.D. 90, A.U.C. 843.

tageous peace, and, what was worse, learnt that they had power to disturb the peace and even threaten the security of the possessions of their hitherto powerful enemy. Reverses experienced at such a distance from Rome did not easily reach the ears of the populace, who were not yet accustomed to anything but victory; and Domitian, although painfully conscious of failure, entered Rome in triumph, and assumed the honorary titles of Germanicus and Dacicus.

It was at this period that disappointed ambition, jealousy of the successes of others, and cowardice increased by failure, awakened the natural cruelty of his disposition, for cowards are always cruel, and turned his very virtues into vices. The life of no one was any longer safe, however innocent and blameless it might be. Hence, although he was not a monster like Tiberius, Caligula, or Nero, the sufferings of his people were as great as under the worst of his predecessors. "It was a capital crime," says Tacitus, "in Arulenus Rusticus merely to praise Pætus Thrasea, and in Herennius Senecio to eulogize Helvidius. Old times have seen the greatest height of liberty, we the lowest depths of tyranny, for informers debarred us the intercourse of speaking and hearing. We should even have lost our memories as well as our voices if it were equally in our power to forget as to be silent." The harmless Christians were subjected to the severest persecutions, and the most cruel tortures that they had ever undergone; and in the last year of his reign the Evangelist St. John, in the retirement of Patmos, to which he had been banished, wrote the book of Revelation.

Domitian, however, even in his lifetime, paid a severe penalty for the torments which he inflicted on others. He lived in a state of perpetual dread, and sought relief, partly in the forgetfulness of intemperance, partly in the excitement of witnessing the agonies of his victims. He was worse than even Nero, says Tacitus, for he ordered the commission of cruelties, but did not witness them. Our very sighs were noted down. It added to



the horrors of suffering, to behold the savage redness in his face, with which he fortified himself against blushing.

At length his own jealousy caused his ruin. He kept a list of those whom he suspected, and therefore destined to death. His wife, Domitia, accidentally saw her name inscribed upon the fatal tablets, and showed it to others, whose names were there also. They readily entered into her views; and Stephanus, a freedman, was introduced into Domitian's bedchamber, with instructions to give him a letter, and, whilst he read it, to stab him. The man struck the blow, and the conspirators, rushing in, despatched him with seven wounds.\* It is said that the celebrated impostor, Apollonius of Tyana, of whose pretended miracles so much is related, was lecturing at Ephesus at that moment, and that he suddenly exclaimed, "Stephanus, strike the murderer!" It is evidently a story of an ignorant, and therefore of a superstitious age.

Thus died the last of those twelve emperors who have been distinguished by the august title of Cæsar. The family, indeed, had been extinguished at the death of Nero, and since then it had only been continued by the legal fiction of adoption. During a period of more than eighty years, for even the short reign of Vespasian can scarcely be considered as forming an exception, the Romans had been the victims of uninterrupted tyranny and oppression. No wonder that, under such a government, they not only endured the miseries, but were polluted with the vices, of slavery. They were now so debased, so utterly unfitted for the right enjoyment of rational liberty, and for appreciating constitutional government, that even the golden age which succeeded the dark period of the last ten Cæsars could not rescue them from the degradation into which they had fallen, or avert their impending ruin. The reigns of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, were doubtless periods of national glory and prosperity. The characters of these emperors themselves were distinguished for

\* A.D. 96, A.U.C. 849.

ability and virtue. The army, which had been the ruin of liberty, and the prop as well as the tool of each succeeding tyrant, was kept in check; justice and the laws were constitutionally administered; and the vast empire was well and wisely governed, and enjoyed security and tranquillity.

But with M. Aurelius, the glory of the empire, which seemed to gleam forth for seventy-four years, for ever passed away. Commodus rivalled the worst of the Cæsars for disgusting profligacy and ferocious cruelty; and a succession of emperors of foreign birth, some displaying the savage ferocity of the Northern Barbarians, others the weak effeminacy of Orientals, broken only by a few bright exceptions, terminated in the irruption of the Goths and Vandals, and the overthrow of the empire.\*

Rome had now completed the task assigned to her by divine Providence in the civilization of the world. Like the other gigantic empires of Assyria, Persia, and Greece, to whose power she had succeeded, she had in her the principles of decay and human instability, and so she crumbled into the dust. But Rome was preparing the way for a mightier and more universal empire, the kingdom of the Messiah: on her ruins, the fabric of the Christian Church was built up. The destiny of this fifth empire is pronounced by the word of God himself to be eternal. It is built upon a rock, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. The principles of its constitution are undecaying, because they have been implanted by the hand of the great moral Governor of the universe, and are intended by Him to outlast the world, and to endure even when Heaven and earth have passed away.

Nor do we only owe to the Gospel spiritual privileges: it is the author of temporal blessings, the encourager of human enterprise, the nurse of liberty, the promoter of civilization, the developer of good government. It cannot be said, indeed, that all Christian governments are good governments; the corruption of human nature

\* A.D. 476, A.U.C. 1229.

prevents this result ; but it may be asserted that there are no good governments in the world except in Christian countries. May we never be insensible to these blessings, but look forward with hope and confidence to that promised time, when "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

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## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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753.	1.	Rome founded April 21st. Romulus.
715.	39.	Numa Pompilius.
674.	82.	Tullus Hostilius.
640.	114.	Ancus Martius.
616.	138.	Tarquinius Priscus.
578.	176.	Servius Tullius.
534.	220.	Tarquinius Superbus.
509.	245.	EXPULSION OF THE TARQUINS.
501.	253.	T. Lartius first Dictator.
496.	258.	Battle of Lake Regillus.
494.	260.	First secession of the plebs to Mons Sacer.
486.	268.	Agrarian law of Sp. Cassius.
477.	277.	Defeat of the Fabii at Cremera.
471.	283.	The Publilian law carried.
462.	292.	C. Terentillus Arsa proposes revision of the laws.
458.	296.	Dictatorship of Cincinnatus.
451.	303.	First Decemvirate.
449.	305.	Death of Virginia. Second secession.
445.	309.	The Canuleian law passed.
439.	315.	Second Dictatorship of Cincinnatus.
427.	327.	War declared against Veii.
421.	333.	Quæstors increased from two to four.
407.	347.	Truce with Veii expires.
396.	358.	Veii taken.
390.	364.	Battle of the Allia. ROME TAKEN BY THE GAULS.
384.	370.	Condemnation of Manlius.
376.	378.	The Licinian Rogations proposed.
368.	386.	M. Furius Camillus and P. Manlius Capitolinus, Dictators.

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| 367. | 387.   | The Licinian Rogations passed.                  |
| 366. | 388.   | First plebeian consul.                          |
| 364. | 390.   | Stage plays first exhibited.                    |
| 361. | 393.   | Single combat of T. Manlius Torquatus.          |
| 357. | 397.   | C. Licinius fined for breaking his own law.     |
| 356. | 398.   | First plebeian Dictator.                        |
| 349. | 405.   | Single combat of M. Valerius Corvus.            |
| 343. | 411.   | FIRST SAMNITE WAR.                              |
| 340. | 414.   | Self-devotion of P. Decius.                     |
| 337. | 417.   | First plebeian Prætor.                          |
| 326. | 428.   | Second Samnite war.                             |
| 321. | 433.   | The Caudine Forks.                              |
| 315. | 439.   | The Dictator, Fabius, defeated by the Samnites. |
| 312. | 442.   | Appius Claudius, Censor. Flavian calendar.      |
| 308. | 446.   | Q. Fabius Max. Rullianus defeats the Samnites.  |
| 304. | 450.   | Peace with the Samnites.                        |
| 300. | 454.   | The Ogulnian law passed.                        |
| 298. | 456.   | Third Samnite war begins.                       |
| 295. | 459.   | Self-devotion of P. Decius Mus.                 |
| 291. | 463.   | Execution of C. Pontius.                        |
| 286. | 468.   | Last secession of the plebs.                    |
| 281. | 473.   | ARRIVAL OF PYRRHUS.                             |
| 278. | 476.   | Pyrrhus goes to Sicily.                         |
| 275. | 479.   | Defeat of Pyrrhus.                              |
| 272. | 482.   | Submission of Tarentum.                         |
| 268. | 486.   | Last Samnite war begins.                        |
| 266. | 488.   | Italy subjugated.                               |
| 264. | 490.   | FIRST PUNIC WAR.                                |
| 260. | 494.   | Naval victory of Duilius.                       |
| 255. | 499.   | Regulus, a prisoner.                            |
| 250. | 504.   | Regulus sent to Rome to negotiate peace.        |
| 247. | 507.   | Siege of Lilybæum.                              |
| 241. | 513.   | End of First Punic war.                         |
| 236. | 518.   | The Transalpine Gauls cross into Italy.         |
| 229. | 525.   | Death of Hamilcar.                              |
| 225. | 529.   | The Gauls defeated by the Consul Æmilius.       |
| 222. | 532.   | The Gallic war concluded.                       |
| 218. | 536.   | SECOND PUNIC WAR.                               |
| 217. | 537.   | Battle of Thrasymenus.                          |

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| 216. | 538.   | Battle of Cannæ.                                |
| 212. | 542.   | Syracuse taken by Marcellus.                    |
| 207. | 547.   | Battle of the Metaurus.                         |
| 204. | 550.   | Scipio goes to Africa.                          |
| 202. | 552.   | Battle of Zama.                                 |
| 197. | 557.   | Battle of Cynoscephalæ.                         |
| 191. | 563.   | Defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ.              |
| 187. | 567.   | Scipio impeached.                               |
| 183. | 571.   | Deaths of Hannibal and Scipio Africanus(?)      |
| 179. | 575.   | Accession of Perseus.                           |
| 171. | 583.   | WAR WITH PERSEUS BEGINS.                        |
| 168. | 586.   | Battle of Pydna.                                |
| 161. | 593.   | Banishment of the philosophers from Rome.       |
| 155. | 599.   | Embassy from Athens to Rome.                    |
| 149. | 605.   | THIRD PUNIC WAR.                                |
| 146. | 608.   | Mummius takes Corinth.                          |
| 143. | 611.   | Numantine war begins.                           |
| 140. | 614.   | Viriathus assassinated.                         |
| 134. | 620.   | Scipio sent to Numantia.                        |
| 133. | 621.   | Tib. Gracchus elected tribune.                  |
| 131. | 623.   | Both censors plebeians.                         |
| 129. | 625.   | Kingdom of Pergamus made a Roman province.      |
| 123. | 631.   | C. Gracchus elected tribune.                    |
| 121. | 633.   | Murder of C. Gracchus.                          |
| 119. | 635.   | C. Marius tribune.                              |
| 111. | 643.   | JUGURTHINE WAR BEGINS.                          |
| 106. | 648.   | Jugurthine war ends.                            |
| 102. | 652.   | Marius defeats the Teutones.                    |
| 100. | 654.   | Birth of Julius Cæsar.                          |
| 92.  | 662.   | Sulla goes to Asia as proprætor.                |
| 90.  | 664.   | The Social or Marsic war.                       |
| 88.  | 666.   | First Mithridatic war.                          |
| 87.  | 667.   | Massacre by Cinna and Marius.                   |
| 83.  | 671.   | Second Mithridatic war.                         |
| 82.  | 672.   | Sulla's proscription.                           |
| 78.  | 676.   | Death of Sulla.                                 |
| 74.  | 680.   | Third Mithridatic war.                          |
| 73.  | 681.   | War of Spartacus.                               |
| 67.  | 687.   | Pompey commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. |
| 63.  | 691.   | Consulship of Cicero.                           |



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| 60.  | 694.   | THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE.                     |
| 58.  | 696.   | Cicero outlawed.                           |
| 55.  | 699.   | Cæsar invades Britain.                     |
| 49.  | 705.   | Commencement of civil war.                 |
| 46.  | 708.   | Reformation of the calendar.               |
| 44.  | 710.   | Murder of Cæsar on the ides of March.      |
| 43.  | 711.   | Second Triumvirate.                        |
| 42.  | 712.   | Battle of Philippi.                        |
| 40.  | 714.   | Peace of Brundisium.                       |
| 36.  | 718.   | Defeat of Sext. Pompeius.                  |
| 31.  | 723.   | Battle of Actium.                          |
| 29.  | 725.   | Temple of Janus closed.                    |
| 27.  | 727.   | Octavius saluted Augustus and Emperor.     |
| 23.  | 731.   | Augustus tribune for life.                 |
| 20.  | 734.   | The Parthians restore the Roman standards. |
| 16.  | 738.   | Campaign of Augustus in Gaul.              |
| 12.  | 742.   | Death of Lepidus.                          |
| 8.   | 746.   | The month Sextilis named Augustus.         |
| 4.   | 750.   | BIRTH OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.            |
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| A.D. |   |
| 4.   | 757. Tiberius adopted by Augustus.                      |
| 9.   | 762. Destruction of Varus and his legions.              |
| 14.  | 767. Death of Augustus, August 19th.                    |
| 17.  | 770. Triumph of Germanicus.                             |
| 19.  | 772. Death of Germanicus.                               |
| 23.  | 776. Drusus poisoned by Sejanus.                        |
| 31.  | 784. Fall of Sejanus.                                   |
| 37.  | 790. Tiberius assassinated.                             |
| 41.  | 794. Caligula assassinated.                             |
| 43.  | 796. Campaign of Claudius in Britain.                   |
| 48.  | 801. Execution of Messalina.                            |
| 51.  | 804. Caractacus a prisoner at Rome.                     |
| 54.  | 807. Claudius poisoned.                                 |
| 60.  | 813. Agrippina murdered.                                |
| 61.  | 814. Insurrection in Britain under Boadicea.            |
| 64.  | 817. FIRST PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS.                   |
| 67.  | 820. Visit of Nero to Greece.                           |
| 68.  | 821. Suicide of Nero.                                   |
| 69.  | 822. Galba murdered. Suicide of Otho. Vitellius killed. |
| 70.  | 823. Jerusalem taken by Titus.                          |

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| 77.  | 830.   | Agricola governor of Britain.             |
| 79.  | 832.   | Death of Vespasian. Eruption of Vesuvius. |
| 81.  | 834.   | Death of Titus.                           |
| 84.  | 837.   | Agricola conquers the Caledonians.        |
| 86.  | 839.   | War with the Dacians.                     |
| 90.  | 843.   | Peace made with the Dacians.              |
| 93.  | 846.   | Death of Agricola, aged 56.               |
| 96.  | 849.   | Assassination of Domitian.                |

## ROMAN AUTHORS.

### FIRST PERIOD.

FROM THE RISE OF ROMAN LITERATURE TO THE TIME OF  
CICERO.

- B.C.  
240. Livius Andronicus, dramatic poet, flourished.  
239. Q. Ennius, the father of Roman poetry, born.  
235. Cn. Nævius, dramatic poet and historian,  
flourished.  
234. M. Porcius Cato Censorius, historian, &c., born.  
227. M. Accius Plautus, comic poet, born,  
218—201. Q. Fabius Pictor and L. Cincius Alimentus,  
annalists, flourished.  
192. P. Terentius Afer, comic poet, born.

### SECOND PERIOD.

AGES OF CICERO AND AUGUSTUS.

116. M. Terentius Varro, grammarian, &c., born.  
106. M. Tullius Cicero, orator, &c., born.  
100. C. Julius Caesar, author of "Commentaries," born.  
95. T. Lucretius Carus, philosophic poet, born.  
86. Q. Valerius Catullus, lyric and elegiac poet, born.  
Cornelius Nepos, biographer, contemporary.  
85. C. Sallustius Crispus, historian, born.  
M. Vitruvius Pollio, architect.  
70. P. Virgilius Maro, epic poet, &c., born.  
69. Cornelius Gallus, elegiac poet, born.  
65. Q. Horatius Flaccus, lyric poet, &c., born.

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B.C.

- 59. Titus Livius, historian, born.
- 54. Albius Tibullus, elegiac poet, born.
- 51. Sex. Aurelius Propertius, elegiac poet, born.
- 43. P. Ovidius Naso, elegiac poet, &c., born.
  - A. Sabinus, elegiac poet.
  - Publius Syrus, writer of dramatic mimes.
  - C. Pedo Albinovanus, elegiac poet.
  - M. Manilius, astronomical poet.
  - Valerius Flaccus, grammarian.

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### THIRD PERIOD.

FROM THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS TO THE END OF FIRST  
CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

A.D.

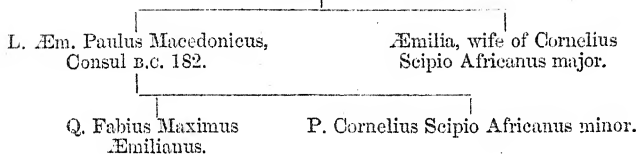
- T. Phædrus, author of "Fables."
- Velleius Paterculus, historian, killed A.D. 31.
- Valerius Maximus, Author of "Anecdotes."
- 23. C. Plinius Secundus, naturalist, born.
- 25. C. Silius Italicus, epic poet, born.
  - L. Julius Columella, horticultural poet.
  - M. Annæus Seneca, rhetorician.
  - A. Cornelius Celsus, medical writer.
  - Pomponius Mela, geographer.
  - L. Annæus Seneca, philosopher, killed A.D. 65.
- 34. A. Persius Flaccus, satirist, born.
- 38. M. Annaeus Lucanus, didactic poet, born.
  - C. Valerius Flaccus, epic poet, died A.D. 88.
  - Q. Curtius Rufus, biographer.
  - M. Fabius Quintilianus, rhetorician, died A.D. 88.
- 43. M. Valerius Martialis, epigrammatist, born.
- 61. P. Papinius Statius, epic poet, born. Died A.D. 95.
  - D. Junius Juvenalis, satirist.
  - C. Cornelius Tacitus, historian.
  - C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus, author of "Epistles," &c.
  - C. Suetonius Tranquillus, biographer.
  - L. Annæus Florus, Epitomator.

# GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS,

Consul, B.C. 302.

L. Æm. Paulus, killed at Cannæ.

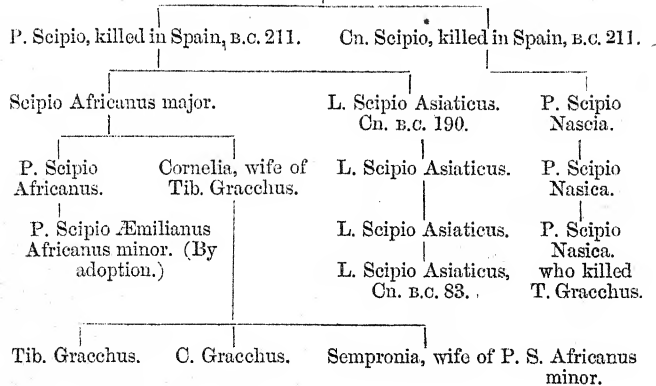


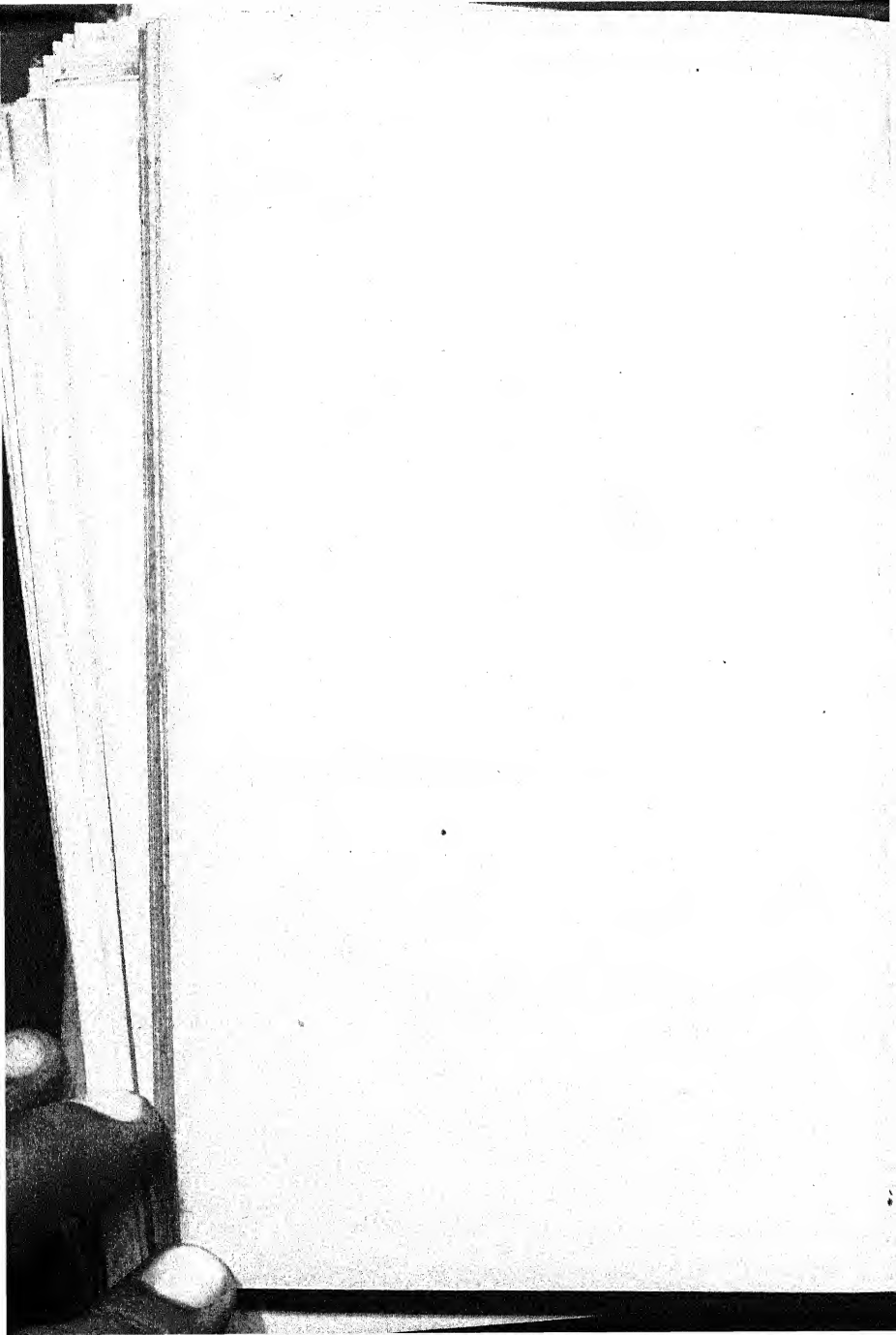
## GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SCIPIOS.

L. SCIPIO BARBATUS, Cn. Fil.

Consul, B.C. 298.

L. Scipio, Consul, B.C. 259.







## INDEX.

- Achæans, 135.  
 Achaicus, *see* Mummius.  
 Actium, battle of, 217, 218.  
 Adherbal, 94.  
 Ædui, the, 187.  
 Ælius, C. 80.  
 Æmilius, L. 40; Mamercus, dictator, 53; Q. Barbula, 72; Paulus, 129, 130; Lepidus, 170.  
 Æneas, 5.  
 Age, Augustan, 225.  
 Agrarian disturbances, 40.  
 Agricola completes the conquest of Britain, 255.  
 Agrippa, M. 217, 218.  
 Agrippina, 250, 252.  
 Alba, 13, 23.  
 Albans, the, 12.  
 Allobroges, the, 103.  
 Ambassadors, Roman, insulted by the Tarentines, 82.  
 Ancus Marcius, 13; sons of, 16.  
 Antiochus, 124.  
 Antonines, the, 271.  
 Antony, Mark, 202; triumvir, 208; licentiousness of, 213, 216; reverses in Parthia, *ib.*; defeated at Actium, 218; his death, 219.  
 Apennines, 1.  
 Apollonius of Thyana, impositions of, 271.  
 Appeal, Valerian law of, 76.  
 Appian road, 75.  
 Aquæ Sextiæ, 155.  
 Aqueduct, Claudian, 248.  
 Archimedes, notice of, 112.  
 Arminius defeats Varus, 232.  
 Arria, conjugal devotion of, 249.  
 Arvernî, the, 187.  
 As, Roman, value of, 30.  
 Asturians, the, 229.  
 Athenians, 124.  
 Attalus, will of, 139.  
 Attus Navius, 15.  
 Augurs, 15.  
 Augustus, Imperator, 221; his policy, 223—227; clemency of, 227; adopts Tiberius, 233; death and character of, 233, 234.  
 Authors, Roman, 268.  
 Aventine, 27, 150.  
 Batavi, rebellion of, 262, 263.  
 Bericus invites the Romans into Britain, 248.  
 Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni, 254.  
 Bocchus, 153.  
 Brennus marches against Rome, 57.  
 Britain invaded by Cæsar, 189; successful campaign in, 248; conquered by Agricola, 269.  
 Britannicus, 252.  
 Brutus, Junius, 20, 21, 32; Marcus, 203, 211, 212; Decimus, 208.  
 Cæcilius, L. Metellus, 81, 93; Q. Met. 135, 153, 172; Numid. 172; L. Met. 175; Q. Met. Nepos, 183; Q. Met. Scipio, 193.  
 Cæsar, Caius Julius, early life of, 183; campaigns in Spain, 184; in Gaul, 186, 187; invades Britain, 189; passes the Rubicon, 195; dictator, 197; victorious at Pharsalia, 198—Thapsus, 199—Munda, 201; returns to Rome, *ib.*; political measures of, *ib.*; refuses the crown, 202; assassinated, 203; character of, 204.

- Caledonians, the, 269.  
 Calendar, correction of, 11; Flavian, 76; reformation of, 201.  
 Caligula (Caius Cæsar), emperor, 242—246.  
 Campagna di Roma, 2.  
 Campus Martius, 30.  
 Candace, queen of the Æthiopians, 230.  
 Cannæ, battle of, 106.  
 Cantabrians, the, 229.  
 Capitol, seized, 44.  
 Capri, island of, 240.  
 Capua, 71; defection of, 110.  
 Caractacus, 249.  
 Carthage, origin and constitution of, 88; wars with Rome, 89—94, 101—122, 131—134; heroic defence of, 131—134; destruction of, 134.  
 Cassivelaunus, 189.  
 Cassius, C. 203, 211.  
 Catiline, conspiracy of, 179—181.  
 Cato, 125, 127, 132, 199.  
 Catti, the, 231.  
 Catulus, Q. Lutatius, consul, 170.  
 Celeres, 21, 36.  
 Celtiberians, the, 136.  
 Censorship established, 51.  
 Census appointed, 16.  
 Centuries, equestrian, 29.  
 Cherusci, the, 232.  
 Christ, birth of, 232, crucifixion of, 241.  
 Christians, persecutions of, 254, 270.  
 Chronological table, 274.  
 Cicero, M. Tullius, 153, 180, 191, 207, 218, 209.  
 Cimbri, the, 155.  
 Cincinnatus, L. Q., dictator, 44, 52.  
 Cinna, consul, 163; tyranny of, 165.  
 Circus Maximus, 15.  
 Civita Vecchia, 4.  
 Classes, Romans divided into, 29; arms of, 29, 30.  
 Claudian family, wickedness of, 256.  
 Claudius, Appius, 35, 43, 46, 75, 85, 89, 110, 144; Cæsar, emperor, 246—251.  
 Cleopatra, 199, 213, 216—219.  
 Cloaca Maxima, 15.  
 Clodius, 185, 191.  
 Coinage, first silver, 87.  
 Collatinus, consul, 21.  
 Colonies founded, 69, 72.  
 Colosseum, 266.  
 Comitia tributa, 28.  
 Commodus, 272.  
 Confusion, year of, 201.  
 Constitution, of Servius Tullius, 28.  
 Consular tribunes, 51.  
 Corinth, fall of, 136.  
 Coriolanus, policy of, 39; condemnation and exile, *ib.*; embassy to, *ib.*  
 Cornelia, 142.  
 Corruption of Roman morals, 128.  
 Crassus, 184, 193.  
 Cunctator, 106.  
 Curiatii, *see* Horatii.  
 Cursor, *see* Papirius.  
 Curtius, M., self-devotion of, 62.  
 Curule Ædileship, 62.  
 Cymbeline, 248.  
 Cynoscephalæ, battle of, 124.  
 Dacians, the, 269.  
 Debtors, severity of laws against, 37.  
 Decemvirate, 45—50.  
 Decius, self-devotion of, 67.  
 Demetrius of Pharos, 123.  
 Dentatus, M. Curius, 79, 80; defeats Pyrrhus, 85; his triumph, 86.  
 Dictator, Romans appoint a, 36.  
 Dispersion of the Jews, 265.  
 Dominions, Roman, extent of, 139, 222.  
 Domitian, emperor, 268—271.  
 Drawbridges, Duilian, 91.  
 Druids, the, 254.  
 Drusus, campaigns in Germany of, 231.  
 Duilius, C., 90.  
 Dyrrhachium, 197.  
 Egeria, 11.  
 Egnatius, G. 77.  
 Egypt, reduced to a Roman province, 219.  
 Etruria, wars with, 72.  
 Etruscans, 25, 33.

- Eumus, 139.  
 Fabii, the, 41, 57.  
 Fabius, Q. Rullianus, 70; Q. Max., 72; Q. Gurgus, 79; Q. Max. Cunctator, 106, 115.  
 Fabricius, Luscinius, incorruptible honesty of, 81; his embassy to Pyrrhus, 84.  
 Falerii, 55.  
 Faustulus, 8.  
 Female Fortune, Temple of, 39.  
 Fidenæ, people of, 10.  
 Flaminian road, 100.  
 Flaminius, 99, 105, 124.  
 Fleet, first Roman, 72.  
 Freedman, 74.  
 Fucinus lake, drained, 248.  
 Fulvia, 209.  
 Fulvius, defeat of, 115.  
 Furius, M. Camillus, 54, 55, 56, 62.  
 Gabii, 18.  
 Galba, Sulpicius, 137; Servius Sulpicius, emperor, 256—257.  
 Galley, Cleopatra's, 213.  
 Gallus, C. Cornelius, 218, 220.  
 Gauls, 56—59, 62, 77, 81, 100, 103, 126, 186—189.  
 Gaul, ancient condition of, 186.  
 Germanicus, 231, 236, —238.  
 Gracchi, the notice of, 142.  
 Gracchus, Tib. Sempronius, 136, 142—146; Caius Sempronius, 147—150.  
 Guilds, origin of, 18.  
 Hadrian, 271.  
 Hanno, 89, 91.  
 Hamilcar, Barca, 95; successes in Spain, 98.  
 Hannibal, oath of, 98; succeeds Hasdrubal as general, 100; his character, 101; besieges Saguntum, *ib.*; crosses the Alps, 104; gains the battles of Ticinus and the Trebia, *ib.*; victor at Thrasymenus, 105; defeats Varro at Cannæ, 106; captures Casilinum, 109; marches upon Rome, 110; recalled, 119; vanquished at Zama, 122, death of, 128.  
 Hasdrubal defeated at the Metaurus, 116.  
 Helvetii, the, irruption into Gaul of, 187.  
 Herculeanum, destruction of, 267.  
 Hercules, legend of, 5.  
 Herdonia, fall of, 115.  
 Herod Antipas, 248; Agrippa, 248, 249.  
 Hiero, 88, 89.  
 History, Roman, obscure period of, 53.  
 Horace, notice of, 211.  
 Horatii, combat of, 12.  
 Horatius Cocles, gallantry of, 34.  
 Hortensius, Q., laws of, 80.  
 Hostilius, Tullus, 12, 18.  
 Human sacrifices, abolition of, 158.  
 Icenæ, the, 254.  
 Illyrians, submission of, 99.  
 Interest, regulation of, 63.  
 Italians, disfranchised, 161.  
 Italy, geography and geology of, 1, 2.  
 Janiculum, 14.  
 Janus, temple of, 11, 98.  
 Jerusalem, plundered by Crassus, 192; siege and destruction of, 263—265; spoils taken from, 265.  
 Jews, 245, 255, 265.  
 John of Gischala, 263.  
 Josephus, 266.  
 Juba, 196.  
 Jugerum, Roman, etymology of (*n.*), 7.  
 Jugurtha, 151—153.  
 Jupiter, Feretrius, 9; Latiaris, temple of, 3; Stator, 10, 181.  
 Jus Latii, 161.  
 Juvenal, 259.  
 Knights, institution of, 15.  
 Lælius, 142.  
 Lands, public division of, 11.  
 Lartius, T., first Roman dictator, 36.  
 Latins, the, 9, 14.  
 Latin language, origin of, 23.  
 Latinus, 6.  
 Latium, 2, 24.  
 Laws, agrarian, 40, 53; Icilian, 45; Terentilian, *ib.*; of the twelve tables, 45, 51; Valerian,

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- 50; Canuleian, 51; Licinian, 61; Publiian, 68; Ogulnian, 76; Mævian, 80; Hortensian, *ib.*; Julian, 160; Sempronian, 149; Manilian, 177.  
 League, Achaean, 135.  
 Lepidus, triumvir, 207; deposed by Octavianus, 215; Pontifex Maximus, *ib.*  
 Ligurians, conquest of, 93.  
 Literature, state of, under Augustus, 225; encouraged by Vespasian, 266.  
 Livius Andronicus, 87.  
 Livy, 225.  
 Lucan, 195, 198, 254.  
 Lucanians, 80.  
 Luceres, 26.  
 Lucretia, death of, 21.  
 Lupercalia, festival of, 202.  
 Lusitanians, 137.  
 Lustrum, 17.  
 Lutia, 138.  
 Macaulay, 34, 35, 37, 48, 88.  
 Macedonia, a Roman province, 136.  
 Macedonian war, 122, 123.  
 Mæcenæ, 214.  
 Mælius, Sp., 52.  
 Mamertines, 89.  
 Mancinus, C. Hostilius, 138.  
 Manlius, M., defends the Capitol, 58; Torquatus, 63, 67.  
 Manners, simplicity of Roman, 87.  
 Marcellus, M. Claudius, captures Syracuse, 114.  
 March, Ides of, 203.  
 Marcomanni, the, 269.  
 Marcus Aurelius, 272.  
 Marius, early history of, 152; conducts the war against Jugurtha, 153; defeats the Teutones, 155; his character, 156; outlawed, 163; returns to Rome, 164; cruelties and death of, 165.  
 Marsic war, *see* Social war.  
 Martial, lines of, 250.  
 Masinissa, 120, 131, 134.  
 Mauritania, a Roman province, 248.  
 Menenius, 42.  
 Messalina, 249.  
 Metaurus, the, battle of, 116.  
 Metellus, *see* Cæcilius.  
 Mettius Fuffetius, 12.  
 Minucius, M., 105.  
 Mithridatic war, first, 161; second, 170; third, 176.  
 Mona, island of, 254.  
 Money, early Roman, specimen of, 31.  
 Mons Sacer, 38, 80.  
 Mummius, 136.  
 Mutiny of the Roman army, 65.  
 Nasica, Cornelius Scipio, 144.  
 Naval successes of the Romans, 91.  
 Nerva, 271.  
 Nervii, the, 188.  
 Nero, consul, victor at the Metaurus, 116; emperor, 251—256.  
 Niebuhr, 46, 57, 108, 140, 155, 244.  
 Numa Pompilius, 11, 12.  
 Numantine war, 137.  
 Octavia, 216.  
 Octavianus, named successor to Caesar, 202; triumph, 208; conduct at Philippi, 211; victories at Actium, 218; closes the temple of Janus, 221; *see* Augustus.  
 Opimius, 150.  
 Orgetorix, 187.  
 Ostia, port of, 4, 14, 248.  
 Otho, Emperor, 257—259.  
 Ovid, 225.  
 Pætus, Cæcina, 249.  
 Pantheon, 15.  
 Papirius, M., 57; L. Cursor, 69; 70, 73, 86; C. Carbo, 146; Cn. Carbo, 164, 166.  
 Parthians, 215, 238, 255.  
 Patres Conscripti, 32.  
 Patricians, origin of, 26.  
 Patron and client, relation of, 27.  
 Pelasgi, 22.  
 Perseus, notice of, 129; defeated by L. Æmilius Paulus, 130.  
 Perusia, destruction of, 213.  
 "Phænomena," of Aratus, paraphrase of, ascribed to Domitian, 268.

- Pharnaces, 199.  
 Pharsalia, battle of, 198.  
 Philip III., of Macedon, supremacy of, 123; defeated at Cynoscephalæ, 124.  
 Philippi, plains of, 210; battle of, 211.  
 Philippics, 206.  
 Philo, 245.  
 Pilate, Pontius, 243.  
 Pilum, 155.  
 Piso, Cn., 238.  
 Plague in Italy, 267.  
 Plebeians, origin of, 27.  
 Pliny, 266; the Elder, death of, 267.  
 Poetry, Roman, flourishing state of, under Augustus, 225.  
 Pompeii, destruction of, 267.  
 Pompeius, Cn., consul, 174; commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, 175; defeats Mithridates, 177; takes Jerusalem, 178; triumvir, 184; flies from Rome, 195; defeated at Pharsalia, 198; death of, *ib.*; Sextus, 200, 214.  
 Pontifex Maximus, 215.  
 Pontius defeats the Romans, 70; generous conduct of, *ib.*; defeat and death of, 79.  
 Porsena marches against Rome, 33; generosity of, 34.  
 Pretorian guards, formation of, 228.  
 Princes Senatus, 224.  
 Propertius, 225.  
 Proscription, 208.  
 Pseudo-Philippus, 135.  
 Ptolemy, 199.  
 Punic Wars, first, 88—96; second, 101—122; third, 132—134.  
 Pydna, battle of, 129.  
 Pyrrhus, lands in Italy, 82; victor on the Siris, 83; marches against Rome, *ib.*; retreats to Campania, 84; victor at Asculum, *ib.*; defeated by Curius Dentatus, 85; his death, *ib.*  
 Quirites, the, 10.  
 Ranks, distinction of, at Rome, 141.  
 Regulus conducts the war in Africa, 91; defeated by Xanthippus, 92; embassy and death of, 94.  
 Remuria, festival of, 9.  
 Republic, Roman, establishment of, 32.  
 Rhannenses, 26.  
 Rhetoric, professorships of, founded by Vespasian, 266.  
 Rhodians, insurrection of, 248.  
 Rhone, Hannibal's passage of the, 103.  
 Rome, situation of, 4; original position of, *ib.*; legendary history of, 5—9; foundation of, 9, 25; how peopled, 25; sources of early history, 21; religion of, 27.  
 Romulus and Remus, 7—11.  
 Rufinus, P. Cornelius, 79.  
 Rutilius, C. Marcius, first plebeian dictator, 63.  
 Sabina, Poppæa, 252.  
 Sabines, 9—11, 25.  
 Sacer, Mons, 38, 80.  
 Samnite wars, 64, 69, 71, 77—79.  
 Samnium, submission of, 86.  
 Sarmatians, irruption of, 263.  
 Saturninus, 157, 158.  
 Satyrus, 158.  
 Scævola, heroism of, 34.  
 Scipio, Publius, character of, 118; successes in Spain, *ib.*; consul, 120; lands in Africa, *ib.*; defeats Hannibal at Zama, 122.  
 Scotland, circumnavigated by Agricola, 269.  
 Segedans, the, 136.  
 Sejanus, M. Ælius, 239.  
 Sempronia, 142.  
 Senate, appointment of, 10.  
 Senators, Roman, massacre of, 57.  
 Seneca, 253, 254.  
 Septimontium, 5.  
 Sequani, the, 187.  
 Sertorius, account of, 171.  
 Servile wars, 138, 158.  
 Servius Tullius, 16—18.  
 Seven Hills, 4.  
 Ships, Roman, 90.  
 Shows, gladiatorial, origin of, 87.

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- Sicambri, the, 231.  
 Sicily, first Roman province, 97.  
 Siculi, 22.  
 Silures, the, 248.  
 Social war, 160.  
 Sophonisba, 120.  
 Spartacus, 173.  
 Spoils taken from Jerusalem, 265.  
 Spolia opima, 9, 52, 100.  
 Spurius Cassius, 40.  
 Stolo, C. Licinius, 61, 63.  
 Suevi, the, 188, 269.  
 Suffetes, 88.  
 Sulla, proconsul, 162; conducts the war against Mithridates, 163; proscriptions of, 167; perpetual dictator, *ib.*; political measures of, *ib.*; his character, 169.  
 Sybil, books of, 19, 61.  
 Syphax, 117, 120.  
 Syracuse, siege of, 113.  
 Tacitus, 265, 268.  
 Tanaquil, 14, 16.  
 Tarentines, 81.  
 Tarentum, destruction of, 87.  
 Tarpeia betrays the Capitol, 9.  
 Tarquinius Priscus, 14—16; Superbus, 18—21, 33; Sextus, 18, 20.  
 Tattius, Titus, 9.  
 Taurus, Statilius, 216.  
 Teutones, 154.  
 Thapsus, battle of, 199.  
 Thrasymenus, battle of, 104.  
 Thuri, 80.  
 Tiberius Cæsar, emperor, 235—242; death of, *ib.*  
 Tibullus, 225.  
 Ticius, the battle of, 104.  
 Titienses, 26.  
 Titus besieges and destroys Jerusalem, 260, 273—265; emperor, 266—268.  
 Trajan, 271.  
 Treason, new interpretation of the term, 239.  
 Trebia, the battle of, 104.  
 Tribes, Romans divided into, 16, 28.  
 Tribunes, appointment of, 38.  
 Triumvirate, first, measures of, 188; second, 208.  
 Trophies, Roman, restored by the Parthians, 231.  
 Tusculum, 3, 209.  
 Tyrrheni, 23.  
 Usipetes, the, 231.  
 Utica, 199.  
 Valerius (P.), 20, 33, 35; Corvus, 63.  
 Varro, C. Terentius, 106.  
 Varus, P. Quinctilius, 232.  
 Veii, people of, 10; fall of, 55.  
 Ventidius, 214.  
 Venusia, 79.  
 Vercingetorix opposes Cæsar in Gaul, 189.  
 Vespasian commands in Judæa, 260; emperor, 261—266.  
 Vesuvius, terrible eruption of, 267.  
 Vindex, Julius, 255.  
 Virgil, 225.  
 Virginia, story of, 47—49.  
 Virginius stabs Virginia, 48; incites the army to insurrection, 49; impeaches Appius, 50.  
 Viriathus, assassination of, 137.  
 Vitellius, emperor, 259—261.  
 Volscians, the, 39, 43, 51, 55, 64.  
 Wealth, regulation of, 16.  
 Xanthippus, 92.  
 Yoke, passing under the, 70.  
 Zama, battle of, 121.  
 Zealots, excesses of, 263.



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